FORUM

Copyright 1947, by The Events Publishing Co., Inc.

Vol. CVII MARCH, 1947 No. 3

# Security: An Analysis and a Reflection

By Robert Francis

THIS is an attempt to look at man's security—or at his insecurity—from several angles. No one questions the value of looking at a subject persistently from one angle. Going round a subject, even briefly, may also have its value.

Though nature is the final source of all man's insecurity, the enemy he fears most acutely is a particular one—his fellow man. To protect himself from his fellow man he is forced to cooperate with him. An individual lives in a complex of cooperating groups of which the most exclusive is the sovereign state. Within the state, he has the protection of law against his fellow citizens; but against all other sovereign states he has no effective protection. Today, as truly as in the days of Rome or Babylon, he may wake up in the morning and find that masses of men whom he has never seen and from whom he has scarcely had a chance to pick a quarrel with are bent on his destruction. He numbers his enemies by the hundreds of millions.

In a world of clashing sovereign states, foreign policy has to be two-faced: to avoid war when possible and desirable, and to win a war when it is no longer avoidable. International security, such as it is, is a Janus-god looking in opposite directions at the same time: peace with one face, victory with the other. Conceivably these two processes—prevention of war and preparation for war—might be unrelated, like two concentric and unconnected ramparts, of which the inner might hold if the outer gave way. But nobody thinks that the two processes are unrelated. According to the orthodox view, the stronger a nation is to win a war, the stronger it is to ward off war. The heretical view is that a nation strong for war is weak for peace, weak both for the keeping of peace and for the enjoyment of it.

The splitting of the atom has made the heresy more cogent. If a small nation with the bomb can make a sneak attack on a large na-



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion (also with the bomb) and paralyze it within a few minutes, what nation, however highly armed, can be strong for either peace or war? Until the sovereign state relinquishes at least part of its sovereignty and takes its place in an effectively unified world, we had better not talk of "international security" even in quotation marks.

While the state on its outer surface has changed little in the past two thousand years and more, its internal structure and physiology have undergone, and are undergoing, profound changes. Two revolutionary trends are dominant. The individual has grown more assertive; the state itself has grown more assertive over the individual. Through clarification and defense of civil liberties and agitation for democratic practices, the individual has gained more power to protect himself against his fellow citizens, individual and collective. The state, for its part, has cut more and more into the individual's sphere of personal freedom. The clash is endless, and in a democracy that clash is normal. Now the state wins a point, now the individual, and both events may (or may not) make the state more democratic. An individual may gain in security what he loses in freedom, which is itself a kind of security. Indeed, he may gain one freedom in losing another.

Even when the state so far overshadows the individual that it disregards all civil liberties and denies every democratic process, it has robbed Peter not to pay Paul (so it maintains) but to pay Peter. Having robbed him, for instance, of the right to speak his mind, it may pa him in terms of guaranteed subsisi ence. Peter may, or may not, fe he has gained by the transactio

We might say that in its givin phase the over-assertive state is p ternalistic; in its robbing or deman ing phase, totalitarian. The exis ence of even one over-assertive sta in a group of sovereign states ten to make them all more assertiv When a democratic state goes war or prepares for war with totalitarian state, it is forced adopt some of the practices that is going to war to defend its against. Citizens who value t security of personal freedom abo the security of regimentation a the losers. And in total war, course, anybody may lose anythi or everything.

A familiar feature of the l century and a half is the mounti complication of economic organi tion as a result of the Industr Revolution. Has the economic curity of the average worker creased or decreased? Whate your answer, it is clear that a wo er's simple pattern of security l given way to a very complex o His security is now group rat than individual, and he is usu forced to accept whatever secu his security-group wins for it and sees fit to pass on to him. growing helplessness of the i vidual caught within powerful nomic webs is the justification interference and regulation by democratic state. It lays down r for economic fighting much as feudal system laid down rules medieval jousting; and for the lo

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it charitably provides doles, insurance and other compensations.

Capitalistic democracy is always uncertain to what extent it should merely guarantee fair fighting rules, and to what extent it should take care of its citizens directly. The Communist state, by contrast, is not uncertain at all. As we see it in action, it presumes to know what is best for the individual and does not invite him to make any comment. It has this security at least: that it knows its own mind. It presents a stable fusion of a definite economic system with an equally definite political system. In this modern world of flux, its categorical certainties are strangely unmodern and Dantesque. Meanwhile, the poor individual seldom has any choice as to what sort of state he will live under.

Insecurity is the mother of religion and philosophy. Theologies and metaphysical systems may be elaborated in times of relative safety, but the initial impulse comes from stress, danger, catastrophe. If man enjoyed all the outer security he wanted, he would never have explored his inner resources. Outer security is biological security, self-preservation and all that contributes to it. Its great enemy is death. Inner security transcends death or at least faces death imperturbed. To the theist, it is the consciousness of union with God, and often the accompanying sense of personal immortality. To the non-theist it may be a sense of achievement, of integrity, or it may be memory or reconciliation.

Let us distinguish between inner security and something else that resembles it, namely, an inner sense of outer security. If a man's life is relatively safe and he knows it, his security and his sense of security coincide. But two other situations are possible. He may think he is safe and actually be in instant danger of death. Or he may live in constant terror yet actually be safe. Inner security, on the contrary, is identical with one's sense of it. If one believes, for instance, that a supreme being assures ultimate justice to every human being, that faith cannot be shaken so long as the believer believes. Or if, without reference to the supernatural, one believes with the ancient Stoics that right decision is the supreme good, and if one is prepared to stake all on making right decisions, who can threaten or take away that security from him?

*If one believes*—that is the proviso. The Christian dogma or the Stoic or the Buddhist offers inner security; but only to those persuaded of the truth and value of it. And that is something that many a man today finds it hard to be. He is confronted with the task of making his security secure, of saving his salvation, or of achieving inner security on a different basis. The old way was to start with what you wanted to believe or thought you ought to believe and then to work yourself up to believing it. Can one start the other way round: with what he already believes, indeed with what he can't help believing, and out of that rock to dig and quarry whatever good he can lay his hands on? It would be a more laborious and less rewarding process

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than the other. But what better is *in sight for* the constitutional unbeliever?

Why should we ever have to make an effort to believe anything? Why should we expect such an effort of ourselves or of others? Why should we make a virtue of the effort or of the resulting belief? Why does one not believe whatever in the realm of fact is believable, reject what is unbelievable, and doubt what is doubtful? In the realm of values, also, should not belief or disbelief (believing *in*) follow effortlessly from whatever one has found valuable? If love and friendship, for example, if discovery and work and creation are what give meaning and value to life for anyone, why should he need any further sanction?

Most religions promise too much. Most philosophies prove too much. Both dogma and speculation are generally unacquainted with the virtues of moderation and humility. The devotee receives a check for a million dollars. (Or a hundred million. One is as easy to write as the other.) But when he goes to the bank to cash his check, he is paid in further promises to pay. Concluding that the bank is insolvent, he may declare himself bankrupt. But does he really need a million dollars to buy his groceries?

Whoever contents himself with a personal philosophy or religion based on experienced values and whatever interpretation of man and nature strikes him as most credible, is like an earthquake refugee who camps out on the bare ground. He is not absolutely safe, but at least he will not fall off of anything nor will any- thing come crashing down on hi head. Such a measure of securit may compensate him for the loss o living in the grand style in a crum bling medieval castle.

A man is most secure who aware of his insecurity, includin even his inner security. Knowin that nothing he is or has or know is absolutely safe, he is in a positio to appreciate the relative strengt of such partial securities as he do enjoy. He is willing to evaluat and make use of all the multifario security devices available: legal an political action, economic organiz tion, family, neighborhood, and fr ternal ties, all the techniques modern medicine, nutrition, housin and communication, banking faci ties, insurance of many kinds, a a thousand particular precauti against accident and loss. All the devices can be reduced to two pri ciples: protection and compensatio One protects a building against fi by building it of fire-proof materia or by installing lightning ro sprinkling systems, and so forth. the building burns in spite of pr tective measures, insurance provi monetary compensation for the lo Isn't man's inner security largely the compensatory sort? Nothi can ward off the blows of fate, b man has the capacity for discoveri rich compensations.

Bending all his wits to achiev such odds and ends of security as may, man seldom asks hims whether he may not sometimes h as much security as is good for h He thinks of security as an unmi good, and of insecurity as an unmixed evil. Yet if he had not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ways lived in a sea of insecurity, he would never have learned to swim and to sail a boat. He would never have grown a mind. A certain balance between safety and danger makes him flourish, but not the same balance for everyone. Insecurity that would crush one man serves to put another in top form. Yet the man who genuinely needs more security is not the one who always gets it, and the man who would thrive on greater insecurity does not always know it. Such, from the human point of view, is one phase of the basic injustices of the universe.

Yet though we fear insecurity, we are fascinated by it. We may even love it a little, if not in ourselves, then in other people, real or fictional. We may have no desire to ski on dangerous slopes, but we probably like to watch a skier who does. What we like about it may be the vicarious satisfaction of a death-wish, of getting as near to death as possible without being caught; or it may be the more positive exhilaration of one who achieves a degree of safety in very unsafe situations. One triumphs, at least for a moment, over the eternal enemy by taunting him to come nearer. The hero, who sacrifices his security for the sake of other people's or who sacrifices his outer security for the sake of his inner when the two conflict, is usually put on a far higher plane than the daredevil. Yet, seen as a symbol of defiance of the hundred-headed hydra, even a daredevil is touched with nobility.

Insofar as security is equivalent to fixity, science gives us an ever more insecure universe. In every realm—astronomy, physics, biology, history, psychology—discoverers like Copernicus, Darwin and Einstein teach us to see that what we naively supposed was hard-and-fast and cut-and-dried is really in eternal and incessant flow. Not only is our twirling baseball moving in many component motions, but man on that baseball is moving in still other and incalculable directions of his own. Can we watch the action, both as players and as observers, with a little of the curiosity and zest with which we would watch a baseball game? If so, our curiosity would never be disappointed, and at least in that we would be secure.

---

* Language is the art of concealing thought.

—*Maco-Getter*

* Worry is like a rocking-chair—it will give you something to do but it won't get you anywhere.

—*Audiogram*

* "There's no prostitution, no free love and no vulgar vaudeville in Russia." (Comes the revolution?)

* An old Negro on a Southern plantation was an expert with the whip. He could knock the blossom off a flower, or strike a fly. But when asked to flip a hornet perched on a hornet's nest, the old man replied:

"A blossom am a blossom and a fly am a fly, but a hornets' nest am an organization."

—*The Spoke*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*A portrait of a labor chief*

# John L. Lewis

By Colston E. Warne

Professor of Economics, Amherst College

NO MORE colorful figure has existed in the American labor movement than John L. Lewis. For a quarter of a century, he has occupied a pivotal position of leadership. He has been at times a conservative, a militant liberal and an arch reactionary. He has employed novel and varying strategies in dealing with mine operators, industrialists and the government. His record is a checkered one of marked successes and tragic failures. Seldom, however, has he been inactive or silent. Today, following his setback at the hands of President Truman, he awaits the decision of the Supreme Court with unbecoming quiescence while he projects new plans for the unification of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. In the months ahead, we will doubtless again find Lewis and his miners participating in another heated dispute which will bring him to the forefront of national attention. Lewis cannot be ignored.

First, a biographical sketch of the man. Lewis, now 67 years of age, was born in Lucas, Iowa, in 1880. His father was a Welsh coal miner who migrated to Australia and later settled in America. His father, blacklisted for union activity, became a Des Moines policeman while Lewis was a boy, returning to the mines in 1897. Lewis's education was interrupted at the end of the seventh grade. After a period in the metal mines of Colorado, he started work in the pits in 1907. His marriage to a local school teacher was doubtless responsible for his interest in literature and his emergence into a position of union leadership.

In 1909 he moved to Panama, Illinois, where in the rough and tumble of miners' politics he was elected President of the local of the United Mine Workers. This was one of the few positions which Lewis secured through true democratic elections. His rise to power was by appointment. Soon his stature and oratorical ability caused him to be selected as a district organizer and legislative agent of the miners. One writer commented: "It was impossible to ignore him anywhere. Platforms trembled when he mounted them and he always timed his entrance like an actor, then executed it with the combined effect of an active siege howitzer, the sound of mass bands, and the entrance of an emperor into his court." He quickly came to the attention of Samuel Gompers, who appointed him a field and legislative representative of the A.F. of L. and assigned him to the steel and rubber industries. By 1917 he was back in the

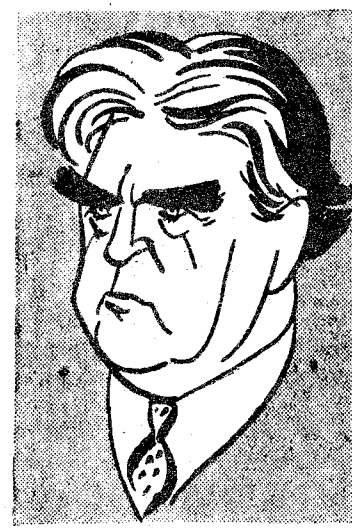
PRODUCED BY UN2.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

miners' organization where he received an appointment as Chief Statistician. That his interests were not particularly statistical is evidenced by the fact that a year later he became Vice President and in 1920 President of the Mine Workers, his incapable predecessor having been forced out of the post.

In his rise to power in miner politics, Lewis was no crusading radical. Like John Mitchell, he was extreme in his conservatism. He was a Republican who opposed price and wage fixation for coal during World War I. In 1919 he clashed with Woodrow Wilson, calling off a national strike at that time on the ground that miners had no right to strike against the government. His opponents he expelled from miners' conventions as radicals.

## EARLY FAILURE

Between 1919 and 1933 his administration of the union, combined with the war-stimulated over-capacity of the industry, brought near disaster to the organization. Resisting the militancy of local and district leadership which demanded nationalization of mines, and alliances with railway and steel workers to cement a strong union movement, he pursued a compromising policy with operators which brought rapid decay. District leaders were suspended from office. Disaster followed disaster. In 1922 a strike to maintain war-time scales of wages was saved only by a railway shop strike which chanced to coincide with the miners' walkout. By 1924 some of the weaker Southern districts had slipped away. In 1925 Lewis lost the bulk of the Pittsburgh field as operators in the northern fields, led by the Pittsburgh Coal Company, were beginning to cancel their contracts with the United Mine Workers. The climax came in 1926 and 1927 when Lewis lost his grip on most of the Northern states. In the bitter but unsuccessful strike of those years, miners were evicted from their homes, living in barracks with meager strike relief. During the struggle, Lewis's political machine voted him an increase in annual salary from eight to twelve thousand dollars, ousted his political opponents, and by falsifying ballots, deprived John Brophy, the opposing candidate, of a victory in his campaign for the presidency of the organization. Brophy was later suspended for 99 years for his audacity. By 1929 the United Mine Workers was left with a remnant of but 80,-



—Leo Hershfield in *The New York Times*

JOHN L. LEWIS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

000 of the 386,000 bituminous miners.

Lewis's administration was no more successful in anthracite than in the bituminous fields. There one found the same problems of expulsion and of dual-unionism. Luckily for Lewis the struggles in the two branches of the industry did not coincide and the miners' union moved into the thirties badly weakened, but still possessed of a membership nucleus.

To a public that has become accustomed to Lewis as a somewhat arrogant labor leader with a succession of victories to his credit, this record of his failures in the 1920's may be unfamiliar. What is most surprising, however, is the sharp change of attitude undergone by Lewis during the period of the New Deal—a change of attitude which made this man the standard bearer of labor progressivism. Within three years, Lewis was again to become a power, backed by the very men whom he had so bitterly opposed in the twenties. By 1940 Lewis was even suggesting himself for the Vice-Presidency of the United States.

The explanation of the change is to be found in part in the character of the coal industry and the attitudes of miners toward the operators. During the depression, miners' wages dropped into the lowest level of the century. Many mine camps were completely on relief. Bankruptcy overtook the industry. With the advent of the New Deal and Section 7A of the N.R.A., the hatreds of the coal diggers found expression in renewed interest in organization. With the slogan, "The President wants you to organize", areas which but a few years before no union man was allowed to enter, responded. By 1935 the miners were back in the union fold, wages were improved, and victories were won even in the entrenched Southern districts. With union support, a Bituminous Coal Act was passed in the hope that both prices and wages could be brought to higher levels. The United Mine Workers once again had become the largest unit in the A.F. of L., possessed of a treasury and imbued with a militancy born of employer oppression.

## INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

In 1928 Lewis had backed Herbert Hoover. By 1935 he was an ardent New Dealer. Symbolic of his transformation, Lewis recruited a staff, including many whom he previously had condemned as radicals, to seek new fields to conquer. At the A.F. of L. convention in San Francisco in 1934, Lewis secured the endorsement of the principle of industrial unionism for mass production workers.

The hope that the moribund A.F. of L. would tolerate the infiltration of new industrial unions was not to be fulfilled. The old crafts still insisted upon their prerogatives with the result that disruption speedily followed. Federation leaders quickly sought to break up promising locals in Akron and Detroit into their constituent craft groups. The conflict came to a head in Atlantic City in 1935, where Lewis was defeated in an industrial unionism motion.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Almost immediately, the Lewis forces, which came to include eight key A.F. of L. leaders, formed the Committee for Industrial Organization to foster industrial union growth within the Federation by dynamic tactics, assisted by the treasury of the miners, the clothing workers, and other allies. Between 1935 and 1940, Lewis became the champion of militant industrial unionism. The growth of the C.I.O., after its expulsion from the A.F. of L. in 1936, was spectacular. Basic industries were organized, sometimes, as in General Motors or the rubber industry, with spectacular strikes, but often, as in United States Steel, by the sheer force of numbers. The opposition of the press and of industrialists to the new unionism was unavailing. Lewis and Roosevelt were the heroes of labor. The United Mine workers increased Lewis's salary to $25,000 and West Virginia miners, as a reward for their release from serfdom, donated a platinum watch. Boldly and aggressively Lewis scorned reconciliation with the A.F. of L. except on his own terms. By 1938, he was the master of a new competitive federation, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and wielded immense economic and political power. His union contributed generously to the Roosevelt campaign funds. The pressure of his organization brought the Fair Labor Standard Act of 1938. He had turned his back upon the old leadership of the A.F. of L. and upon William Green, whom he had made president of the Federation in 1924.

Why Lewis in 1940 formulated [illegible] pursued from that progressivism and Franklin Roosevelt is still quite clouded. Superficially, the explanation is that he became angry because of the refusal of the administration to tighten its labor laws and to accept him as a political leader. It is, however, clear that by 1940 the internal politics of the C.I.O. had become most involved. Some of its unions were militant and possessed of a leadership considerably to the left. Some were conservative. Attitudes toward European affairs and especially toward Russia, brought marked cleavage. Personality quarrels and struggles for power equally marked some of the larger units. Lewis's lieutenants included men such as Phillip Murray and Allen Haywood whom he had brought from the United Mine Workers. They included likewise new elements, both conservative and radical, who had risen in meteoric style. Substantial wage gains had been recorded and the membership of the American unions had reached by 1939 an all-time peak of 8½ million, about equally divided between A.F. of L. and C.I.O.

## WILLKIE

At this point, Lewis made perhaps the worst strategic error of his career. In the election of 1940, he backed Wendell Willkie, promising his resignation as head of the C.I.O. were Willkie defeated. The election results proved that the allegiance of labor to Roosevelt overrode all other loyalties. Lewis and his miners departed from the C.I.O. with mutual recriminations. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

point was a reversion to his old program of conservatism which in the twenties had yielded only defeat.

The economic setting in 1940 was, however, one of expanding defense industry which brought high levels of employment for miners. A succession of demands ensued and from 1941 to the present date, Lewis repeatedly called upon his men to strike and in each case, up until last November, was successful in attaining his ends. First, he forced Southern operators to accept the same scale pay as the Northern regions, a demand which they bitterly but unsuccessfully resisted because the higher freight rates to their remote areas made equal wages a substantial drain on their profits. He next turned to the completion of the closed shop and the check-off for the industry, a quest which succeeded in the days immediately preceding Pearl Harbor. Those undertakings were not conducted with gentlemanly tolerance. Instead, Lewis called extended strikes and in 1941 successfully denied the power of the President's mediation board to settle the closed shop dispute.

In 1943 he moved again toward wage increases in defiance of the Little Steel formula. Calling three strikes in that year, against a War Labor Board decision, he succeeded in incorporating a portal-to-portal pay arrangement in the miners' contract, which augmented the income of the men. This increase was secured under extreme duress. Congressional reaction was so severe that the Smith-Connally Act was passed over a presidential veto. The Government seized the mines an Secretary Harold Ickes signed wit Lewis rather than have the natio face continued paralysis. In the fal of 1945 Lewis was back again wit a mine foremen's strike which laste a month. This strike was called o when operators remained adaman Lewis bided his time, awaiting favorable decision from the Nation Labor Relations Board.

## RETURN TO A.F. OF L.

By 1946, Lewis was ready t launch his master stroke. Takin the United Mine Workers back int the A.F. of L. fold after their lon absence, Lewis again cemented h relationship with his erstwhile foe The miners returned triumphan including in their ranks the muc discussed District 50 which ha formed the basis for Lewis's in perialist ambitions while his unio remained an independent. Distri 50 was an admixture of dairy farm ers, railway trainmen, chemic workers, paper workers, mine for men, utility company employees an other miscellaneous groupings labor which wished collective ba gaining under the banner of John L This nondescript grouping was a cepted by the A.F. of L. as an i tegral part of the miners' union, spite of the competitive union deve opment which it created within t Federation's family.

With A.F. of L. backing, Lew on April 1, 1946, called his mine on strike, demanding not only t 18½-cent an hour increase whi was being generally given but al a health, welfare and retireme fund which would be administer

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the miners. After a national crisis of two months, broken by a two weeks' truce, Lewis won. The government, which had seized the mines, gave the miners a pay increase of $1.85 a day, bringing their weekly earnings to $59.25; and gave them a jointly-administered welfare and retirement fund, to be paid for out of an assessment of five cents for each ton of coal mined. Vacation pay was also increased and a national safety code guaranteed. Meanwhile, a million workers in other industries had been made idle.

Lewis's last episode was to seek the reopening of the miners' contract in November, 1946, in order to secure an additional wage increase before the Eightieth Congress convened.

In making this request, Lewis took advantage of the conflicting clauses in the contract which had provided for government operation. It was specifically stipulated that the terms of the contract should endure for the period of such operation. At the same time the contract also provided that any change in government wage policy might bring a reopening. The result is well known. The miners stayed out from November 20, 1946, to December 7, 1946, and then returned to work on Lewis's orders, following the issuance of a federal injunction and the levying of a fine of $3,500,000 upon the union and $10,000 upon Lewis.

Lewis's action in calling off the strike offers a parallelism with his failure in 1919 when he yielded under similar circumstances. It was an exceedingly severe blow, particularly as Lewis was anxious to establish himself as a master strategist who could gain results far exceeding those of the C.I.O. Instead, Lewis lost his nerve and, refusing to test the power of his mine organization against that of the government, he ordered a disastrous retreat, claiming that the continuance of the strike might prejudice labor's case before the Supreme Court.

The year 1947 finds Lewis back in the American Federation of Labor, possessed of a political outlook not dissimilar from his Republicanism of the 1920's. His mine organization is intact. He is surrounded by a well-entrenched political machine. The Federation appears no longer to desire the fine logic of classifying its members by traditional charter grants. In this situation, Lewis seems the moving force in requesting the C.I.O. to come back into the "family of labor" to bring unity in the face of Congressional hostility.

Any verdict concerning Lewis cannot class him as the master-mind of American labor. He appears, rather, as a gambler for high stakes, an opportunist who at times gained great victories but who has likewise suffered extreme defeats. In a very real sense, he is a product of the economic environment which created him. He is as dictatorial as the mine operators who set out to wreck the union in the 1920's. He is as arrogant as the enemies of organized labor in Congress. He is not in action nor in ideology the expression of the progressive forces of labor.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*A suggestion for peaceful relations*

# Soviet-American Cooperation

By Elmer Plischke

Professor of Political Science, DePauw University

THE difficulties involved in United States-Soviet cooperation may be grouped broadly into three principal types. The first two are concerned more directly with our mutual relations within the United Nations framework. They include problems of international organization and machinery, on the one hand, and the perennial problem of sovereignty, on the other. The third difficulty, underlying all of our mutual relations, is concerned with the spirit or the attitude in which our relations are conducted.

The very origin of the United Nations partly explains the existence of some of the difficulties of collaboration. Conceived in time of war, its composition naturally was limited to the Anti-Axis Allies, who—joined in war for purposes of mutual preservation — intended to remain united in time of peace. But peace at that time signified *security* rather than *cooperation,* and thus the United Nations was established for preservation of the security and protection of its members against further aggression. Despite lofty words in praise of the motives prompting its establishment, it is said that, in the United Nations, security takes precedence over justice, while the creation of order as conceived by the Allies transcends the reign of law.

Much of the current criticism directed at non-cooperation in the United Nations must be attributed to the limited authority of the Security Council. The six Articles comprising Chapter VI of the Charter, dealing with the "Pacific Settlement of Disputes," are devoted largely to hopeful procedures according to which the parties to a dispute are to settle their controversies themselves.

Failing this, the Security Council is authorized to investigate and report on the dispute and recommend procedures for solution. Finally, as *a last resort, if the Council deems* the continuance of the dispute as "likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security," it may recommend appropriate terms of settlement, which, it is to be noted, the parties may accept or reject as they desire.

The jurisdiction of the Security Council thus is limited to recommendation at best. There is no legal obligation upon the parties to accept its recommendations, nor is there any legal right on the part of the United Nations to enforce them, unless indirectly under Chapter VII of the Charter, which provides for nonpacific methods of settlement, including sanctions.

This is a very serious drawback



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in our present international machinery. Even when a major power is concerned in a dispute brought before the Security Council, it can argue that the dispute is being resolved through direct bilateral negotiation in a manner agreeable to both parties. This was the very argument of the Soviets in the first Iranian controversy. In the Indonesian and the Lebanese-Syrian affairs, the Security Council itself referred the matters back to the parties for direct negotiation and solution.

## THE VETO

A final difficulty in the international machinery is the much-publicized veto power enjoyed by the Big Five in the Security Council. As the Charter was finally adopted, the five permanent members of the Security Council, including the United States and the Soviet Union, enjoy the right to exercise the veto in all the important actions the Council may take. These include:

1. Investigation of disputes and the making of recommendations for amicable solution. (Although in considering the amicable solution of a dispute in which one of the Big Five is a party, it cannot veto the action of the Council because parties are not authorized to vote in such matters.)
2. Economic sanctions.
3. Military sanctions.
4. Amending the Charter—since approval of all of the Big Five is required for ratification.

The Soviet Union has utilized the veto on nine occasions during the past months, which has stirred the American press considerably. But it is only fair to remind ourselves that this is its constitutional right under the Charter. Logical objection cannot reasonably be directed at the use of a technique constitutionally ascribed to the Big Five. The objection should be voiced only if the veto is exercised arbitrarily and in such unimportant matters or in such a manner as to undermine the effectiveness of the Council. In any event, it must be admitted that the Soviet Union is guaranteed the privilege of making that determination for itself. Furthermore, the day will dawn—perhaps not in the too distant future—when the United States will wish to exercise the veto, and it will be wise not to jeopardize our future with wholesale objections at this early date.

Besides, it is only fair to add that the Soviet Union is not alone responsible for the existence of the veto. It has been stated that no United States Senate would have approved the Charter without a veto power. The United States, therefore, bears as great a responsibility for its inclusion in the Charter as any other state.

There is much that might be said against the veto, it nevertheless must be agreed that the voting requirement of the Security Council is an improvement over the procedure formerly provided for the Council of the League of Nations under the Covenant. Voting is by a majority of 7 of the 11 members of the United Nations Security Council, including all of the Big Five, whereas in the League Coun-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cil, except in certain minor exceptions, unanimity of all members was required. If cooperation under democratic procedures on the international as well as the national level is our goal, this certainly is a step in the right direction.

Nevertheless, if there were no veto in the United Nations machinery, the collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States within the Council certainly would at least appear to be much greater than it does today.

**SOVEREIGNTY**

Sovereignty, the second major disuniting factor, underlies much of the difficulty in collaboration experienced in the international machinery. It sometimes is stated that one of the primary difficulties with the United Nations is that it is just another confederation of fully independent and sovereign states. Delegates to the Assembly, the Security Council, and the two special Councils are merely representatives of governments. They are neither the direct representatives of the peoples of the states concerned, nor of the world at large. Issues consequently are debated and resolved not on their merits, but rather on the basis of national policies and interests, the results being but compromises among conflicting national wills.

As a result, there recently has been a distinct movement in the direction of international federation and world government. In this country, it has been supported by Emery Reeves, author of *The Anatomy of Peace* (1945) and has gained the approval of various publicists and atomic scientists here and abroad, including Dr. Albert Einstein, Ely Culbertson, Stephen King-Hall, T. D. Feinletter, former United States Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, Raymond Gram Swing, and Norman Cousins. The nexus of their proposals is that the Atomic Bomb renders effective collaboration absolutely essential today, and such cooperation is possible only in a close federation of states in which the United States, the Soviet Union, and the other states of the world will no more want to use the Atomic Bomb against each other than Tennessee and Washington—producers of the bomb—are likely to use it against the other states of the Union which do not produce it.

It is generally conceded by these publicists, however, that the achievement of world government at this time is unlikely, and perhaps will not occur before the next major war. Federation, nevertheless, should be our goal, it is argued, even if only two states pave the way.

But there are others who claim that the world is not ready for world government and that the United Nations is the first essential step towards the ultimate goal of federation. Former Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles supports this point of view, contending that both the United States and the Soviet Union already have made a substantial stride in agreeing to the United Nations Charter. Since real federation is unlikely at this time why scuttle the United Nations before a better alternative is available? Present international machinery can

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

work, Welles continues, provided that the peoples of the world desire to make it work.

It also must be pointed out that the argument that the United Nations does not function properly because of sovereignty, does not necessarily mean that world government would function any better, if the leaders of the various members of such federation failed to cooperate within its framework.

**POWER POLITICS**

The *will to cooperate,* therefore, is the *touchstone of the entire problem of Soviet-American relations.* But this will is disintegrating in the face of resurging unmitigated power politics, frequently attributed to the irreconcilability of fundamental Soviet and American foreign policies and the methods employed in their implementation.

There is much confusion in both the United States and the Soviet Union concerning each other's foreign policy program. Winston Churchill once described Soviet world policy as a "riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma."

In the United States, generous optimists argue that the Soviet Union simply desires peace, security and opportunity to promote the welfare of Soviet citizens. These are not unusual foreign policy objectives, and they might just as well describe our own, or that of Britain, or any other country. As such, they can scarcely be questioned.

Then there are others among us who, going one step further, seek to justify Soviet control or acquisition of territory contiguous to the Soviet Union on the assumption that this is required for strategic reasons in order to assure security and insulation along her frontiers. This contention seeks to justify the absorption of parts of Finland, the Baltic States, and Eastern Poland, and the control—direct or indirect—of most of Eastern and Central Europe and the Balkan States. Intervention becomes a security crusade, hallowed by the dogma of self-preservation and the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union alone.

Other Americans, questioning the primacy of security and strategy, consider Soviet post-war policy as consisting chiefly of nationalist imperialism coupled with Communist World Revolution. Former United States Ambassador to Soviet Russia, William C. Bullitt, describes Soviet foreign policy in *The Great Globe Itself* as a creed of inevitable war between the Soviet State and the Democracies. Peace, to Russia, he adds, is but an armistice in which to prepare attack, because peace can be assured to the Soviets only by the destruction of the democratic capitalistic states and the conquest of the world for Communism. Peace and security will follow as the natural results of a *Pax Sovietica.*

Regardless of how basic Soviet policy is defined, it is severely criticized in this country because of the techniques employed in its implementation. These include: the direct incorporation of territory; indirect control of territory through Soviet-trained Communist leadership functioning with Moscow approval if not actually under orders from Moscow; intense economic penetration;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subjection to a war of nerves; the "Iron Curtain"; use of paid agents and the Fifth Column; propaganda and the damning of all governments and leaders that are not Communist as being Fascist even to the point of virtually identifying post-war Fascism with Western Democracy; obstructionism and delay; and, worst of all, the confronting of the Allies with pro-Soviet *faits accompli*. All of these techniques are part and parcel of power politics, and are utilized independently of, if not in actual opposition to, cooperation with the United States and the other Powers.

## SOVIET ATTITUDE

This program is accompanied by an underlying fear and suspicion—fear of being attacked by the United States with the consequent liquidation of Communist leadership, and suspicion of our policy and diplomacy. It cannot be denied, of course, that from the Soviet point of view there is some justification for this attitude. Assistance was refused to the Revolutionists when it was urgently needed in 1917-1918. Soviet territory actually was invaded from the West 14 times by hostile troops since 1800, and was occupied under a joint Allied intervention, including American Troops, following World War I.

Then, too, the Soviet Union was obliged to wait many long years for its post-Revolutionary government to be accorded *de jure* recognition, the United States not joining the rest of the world until 1933. Meanwhile, a number of cases were decided by American courts on the basis of non-recognition, which obviously militated against Soviet interests in this country. Admission to the League of Nations was withheld until 1934.

Russia has long believed, and not entirely without reason, that the Western European States sought to establish Germany as a Central European buffer against the Soviets, and that they were aiding and abetting a war between Germany and the Soviet Union. There is some opinion that the Soviets believe this to be our occupation policy in Germany today, evidenced by our departure from "Morganthau-ism" and the desire to revive centralized German administration.

As a consequence, there also is uncertainty in the Soviet Union as to United States foreign policy and objectives. Officially our foreign program is viewed as *comprising imperialism* in that we are supporting the British Empire and seek to retain the Pacific mandates; *obstructionism* in that we stand obstinately in the path of Soviet objectives in those areas of Europe and the Far East which surround the Soviet Union; *encirclement* in that we are attempting to establish stable, independent, and powerful states surrounding the Soviet Union, including the German buffer; *non-cooperation* in that we oppose reparations to which the Soviets and their satellites consider themselves to be entitled and because we delay in granting loans and other assistance; and *delusion* in that our actions belie our somewhat idealistic pronouncements concerning the revival and preservation of human rights and liberty.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The resulting situation is tending towards a struggle for global balance of power, superceding the nineteenth century European balance of power. It is accompanied by the revival of power politics. Thrust is checkmated by counter-thrust. Cooperation of the United States and the Soviet Union—to understate it—is very difficult under such circumstances. Basic policies involving vital nationalist and imperialist issues are conceived to be at stake. Genuine reconciliation of our democratic political philosophy with that of the Soviet leaders is said by many to be virtually hopeless.

## SOLUTIONS

The important question that remains is this—How can this impasse be resolved?

It might be resolved if either of the opposing camps were to relinquish its fundamental policy. But when two great powers such as the United States and the Soviet Union find themselves face to face on vital issues, the backing down by one normally is interpreted as weakness.

Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union appears willing to relinquish its basic policy in the present crisis. From the Soviet point of view this is impossible because its foreign policy is conceived to be an integral part of its domestic policy and, therefore, cannot be altered without undermining the internal Soviet program. Whether or not we are inclined to agree does not affect the Soviet approach to the matter.

On the other hand, under our present leadership we, too, are determined not to alter our basic foreign policy. To do so, it is argued, might mean a return to isolationism, forsaking our Atlantic Charter promises, and perhaps even our desertion of the United Nations organization. This would vitiate all of the achievements gained in the difficult, uphill struggle for cooperation in recent years.

What then is the solution? Three possible alternatives suggest themselves: (1) preventive war; (2) a "firm" or "hard" treatment of the aggressive state; (3) a change in tactics without relinquishing fundamental policy.

Preventive war, the most severe of these alternatives, according to Dr. Pitnam B. Potter, (*American Journal of International Law*, April, 1946, "The Alternative to Appeasement.") seems unduly extreme and virtually amounts to an admission of despair, plunging into the very consequence sought to be avoided. If rapid and effective results were assured—which they certainly are not in the present crisis between the United States and the Soviet Union — preventive war might very well take on the character of therapeutic international police action. Certainly if war is inevitable—which is never certain—preventive action is preferable to merely waiting for the aggressor to choose his own occasion while permitting one's own power to decay. But preventive war constitutes a desperate expedient, one to be adopted only as a last resort.

The second possibility is the establishment of a "strong" or "firm" policy—terms not unfamiliar in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States at this time. It constitutes the matching of demands of the aggressive state with equally bold refusals or opposition. Complaints are met with counter-complaints, and threats are offset by a refusal to be intimidated and an implied determination to resist.

For a time the United States appeared to have selected this alternative, and embodied it in both the text and tone of American speeches and action in the United Nations agencies, in the Council of Ministers and at the Paris Peace Conference.

**BLUFF**

The advantages of this approach are that it permits standing up for what is just and right. Insofar as the aggressive state is bluffing or achieving its interests by strong language, then replying in kind may serve a useful purpose. Moreover, the general moral, psychological, or political effect of courageous leadership in maintaining the principles of international law, justice and equity is of considerable significance. But if it results merely in a contest of loud shouting or aggressive action, it can be exceedingly dangerous, and if the aggressive state is not bluffing, it also may result in the outbreak of hostilities.

There are those who argue that the Soviet Union is bluffing today, that she is attempting to gain all that she can while world affairs are in their present state of muddle and the peoples of Europe are economically impotent and politically disunited. Some go so far as to say that not only is the U.S.S.R. benefitting by these conditions, but that she actually is willfully promoting them. Severe reparations demands in Germany and Austria, the policy of driving some Eastern European states into economic dependence upon the Soviet Union, and the encouraged inflation in Hungary are pointed to as evidence of this technique.

Both of the foregoing propositions—preventive war and a strong or hard treatment in order to call a bluff — constitute power politics. They avoid rather than invite cooperation. Furthermore, they favor the aggressive state rather than that which, playing a defensive role, seeks to prevent such aggression.

The third alternative suggests a change in tactics. Aside from a change in leadership, which obviously cannot be counted on, this may assume a variety of forms. Hypothetically, Soviet tactics could be altered, so that prime emphasis would be placed on post-war recovery of the Soviet Union and her neighbors, economic production and political stability, instead of the establishment of security through imperialism or World Communism through revolution.

But the first step towards the resolution of the crisis is not likely to be taken by the Soviets. There remains, then, only a consideration of an American change in tactics.

Dr. Potter has suggested the following procedures: (1) The abandonment of unsound appeasement which obviously must be publicly proclaimed in order to have the desired effect. (2) Repudiation of any intention of preventive war,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which also must be publicly proclaimed in order to dissipate current Soviet fears of the United States. (3) Resolute refusal to give any aid to an aggressive state as long as it maintains its unreasonable demands. (4) The taking of an absolutely firm but considerate and scrupulously dispassionate attitude with respect to the issues at stake, coupled with frankness and understanding. (5) Unostentatious but unconcealed maintenance of economic and military power, or the rehabilitation of that power if it has been allowed to degenerate. (6) Certain measures of concession, but only if it is clearly indicated that no rights are thereby waived.

Some of these procedures already have been adopted. Our temporary abandonment of appeasement today is self-evident. Verbal assurances of our peaceful intentions have likewise been clearly announced to the world. But what about our troops in China, our post-war arctic maneuvers and Atom Bomb demonstrations? Proof of our peaceful intentions lies in deeds rather than words. Our termination of economic aid to Czechoslovakia on the thesis that aid is to be granted only to friendly governments, perhaps introduces a policy which will be applied to the consideration of the pending loan to the Soviet Union.

To the above suggestions also should be added a change in American operations from a defensive to an offensive foreign policy. That is to say, we should cease letting others force us into the unenviable position of appearing to play the role of obstructionist. Instead we should assume the full responsibilities devolving upon us as one of the post-war Great Powers, and establish a comprehensive, positive foreign policy in which others should be invited to cooperate.

Finally—and perhaps most important of all—emphasis must be shifted from the concrete issues themselves to the matter of their mode of treatment or settlement. Irresponsible wrangling over specific issues is ordinarily the cardinal weakness of both the aggressive state and the defender of international law and world peace. For example, they dispute the title to certain territory, the establishment of a boundary, the presence of occupation troops in a particular area, or the interpretation of reparations policy agreements. They should rather be throwing their weight behind the methods of rational and pacific settlement of these issues. It is far from easy for the aggressive state to withstand this approach, because a refusal to accept amicable methods of solution deprives it of general support at the bar of world opinion.

This, it nevertheless must be conceded, is not expected to be a foolproof panacea. But were the United States to adopt this change in tactics, the hope of relieving present tension might burn much brighter. A return to cooperation requires one of the parties to take the initiative. There is no reason why it should not be the United States.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that a state cannot be *forced* to cooperate. It can only be *induced* to cooperate.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# 1897 - 1947 50 YEARS OF FORUM

On the pages of FORUM in 1897, Teddy Roosevelt comments on modern man, civilization and decay.

"While there is in modern times a decrease in emotional religion, there is an immense increase in practical morality. There is a decrease of a martial type found among savages and the people of the Middle Ages, except as it survives in the slums of the cities; but there remains a martial type infinitely more efficient than any that preceded it. . . . As yet, while men are more gentle and more honest than before, it cannot be said they are less brave; and they are certainly more efficient as fighters. If our population decreases; if we lose the virile, manly qualities, and sink into a nation of mere hucksters, putting gain above national honor, and subordinating everything to mere ease of life, then we shall indeed reach a condition worse than that of the ancient civilizations in the years of their decay."

Business and the Presidential election.

*"The complete restoration of confidence in commercial circles and the active resumption of industrial operations so promptly following the result of the recent Presidential election have been quite remarkable, and altogether unprecedented in our experience. These notable results afford abundant substantiation of the assumption that the real cause of the most recent business disturbances was serious anticipation of the possible success of the revolutionary demand for the free coinage of silver, and the consequent debasement of the national currency."*

Life was not considered all skittles and beer in the era we so blithely call the gay nineties!

"The majority of us relish life, while we are young, strong, healthful, in comfortable circumstances; our plans, our purposes unfulfilled. But when our youth is past; when our future is behind us; when we have achieved failure, as the bulk of us do, the savor of the world is lost. Life is not precious of itself. . . . To call it a boon, as is the orthodox fashion, and to assume that anyone who is born should be eternally indebted to a Divine Power for his birth, is not reasonable. We are born and we die by a natural law, independent of our will, without our assent. . . . Why should we be grateful for something that is forced upon us, that frequently becomes a curse?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*A course for liberals*

# Look Homeward, Liberals

**By Ed Ritter**

Principal, School for Organic Education

OLIVER Wendell Holmes tells the story of a West Indian guinea-worm of about the diameter of a hair. When the worm's host impetuously grasps it and breaks it off, it burrows deeper with fatal results. But when the victim carefully operates and secures the worm's head, all is well.

Northern liberals, capable of humility, cannot evade the suspicion that their tactics with the South's racial problems are causing a hookworm to burrow deeper into American life. Their pressure for an F.E.P.C. and the defeat of Southern reactionaries in 1946 was merely of the stuff that is used for paving stones Down Below.

Mississippi Editor Oliver Emmerich spoke for thousands of Southerners when he editorialized on "The Man's" victory: "Those . . . who won with Bilbo are happy. Those who lost are happy, too, for they have the satisfaction of knowing that Walter Winchell and a lot of his ilk failed to impress Mississippians . . . from without."

Commenting on Northern opposition and indignation at Alabama's Boswell Amendment last fall, former Governor Chauncey Sparks asserted, "If this outside interference continues, only one result may be looked for—a stiffening of the opposition to the southern white man who has any reasonable and just approach to the settlement of the race question."

The reaction was general. Bilbo and Rankin won. The Boswell Amendment passed. The late Eugene Talmadge won in Georgia on a "white supremacy" platform. Samuel Green, Grand Dragon of Georgia's Ku Klux Klan, boasts a ten-fold increase in Klan membership during the last four months of 1946.

Surveying the damage, the liberal asks incredulously: has not the South's two-race-two-world phenomenon felt the impact of what is so glibly called the "earth-shaking consequences" of atomic warfare? Has not the world's shrinkage since the outbreak of World War II reduced the distance between the "white" drinking fountain and the "colored" fountain? Was not World War II sufficiently explosive to blast away the crusted dogmas of "white supremacy" and "master race?"

The answers are no.

But letting the matter rest at that will not overcome America's Number One humiliation while she proposes democracy as a world system. American liberals were never satisfied with Pontius Pilate's manner of dealing with evil.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What then, *will* create a more wholesome racial situation in the South? Can the liberal attack the problem without forever causing it to turn on him and double its proportions in the process?

Optimism may enter here to the extent that Northern liberals and Southern liberals remember that they have distinct, separate jobs to do. By the nature of things, the Northern liberal's job has to do with the reform of prevalent Northern attitudes; the Southern liberal's job has to do with Southern attitudes.

Let the Northern liberal go a journey to the principal's office of a colored secondary school down South, and he'll go back home with a new view of his social task. Does the Negro school administrator talk about getting out anti-discrimination pamphlets? More political action rallies? Not on your life! He's too busy. He's having to scrap old economics and shop courses, and he's full of plans for evolving new ones. He'll pull county planning commission folders and chamber of commerce bulletins from a drawer, spread them on his desk, and tell you that an industrial development of the first magnitude of importance to his race is occurring in his county.

A woodpulp factory is going to open over in Johnsville. A textile plant may open in Mobile. Within a few years, the cotton industry is going to be mechanized and his people must be prepared to perform a new—and more lucrative—service.

The Negro principal is not being naive. Let economic opportunity come to the South and it will come to Southerners—colored and colorless. Today only the most aggressive Southern Negroes have the initiative to go North for good factory jobs. If factories rise in Southern cities on a large scale, the incentive for deserving good jobs will be brought into sight for the thousands who now see nothing beyond the rear of the mule that their sharecropper fathers have followed.

The Negro school man is on the right track with those new high school units on local resources. He knows that it is not the white knight with shining shield that will win for Southern Negroes a role of dignity and decency. He must save himself. His method must be the preparation that will earn for him dignity and decency when economic opportunity comes.

Whether or not economic opportunity comes South will depend much on the North's opposition or aid to the industrialization of the South. It will depend much on whether or not the Northern liberal can become as cognizant of an unjust economic inequality of opportunity as he is of an unjust racial inequality of opportunity. Will he, for example, contemplate Alabama's $603 per capita income in contrast to Connecticut's $1,452—Mississippi's $484 in contrast to New York's $1,340?

The thoughtful Northern liberal will crusade for an end to discriminatory freight rates designed to discourage Southern industrialization. He will crusade for an end to the present unfair system of distributing federal funds—especially for educational and cultural advancement. If the distribution can be based on

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

need rather than ability to match dollar for dollar, the impoverished South could, in Ellis Arnall's phrase, feel as if it were being "re-admitted to the Union."

The Northern liberal's job directly necessitates his being a good American rather than a good Northerner. As Lilienthal pointed out in *Democracy on the March,* narrow, competitive regionalism must give way to the modern economic reality that—to go forward—we must go together. It is imperative for the Northerners, too, to discover that the Civil War is over.

Nothing short of honest concern for removing the economic injustices now oppressing her will convince the South that the Northern liberal's intentions are good. So much needs to be done in that direction that it is not in the forseeable future that Northern platitudes or deprecation about Southern race relations will be welcomed in Dixie as medicine from a friend.

## SOUTHERN LIBERAL

Now let us turn to the Southern liberal's task and his present role in the Southern scene.

The Southern liberal's watchword is to keep the contest on rational ground. Although humiliated by Bilbo and Rankin, he is not unduly discouraged. He is aware that these characters are not as representative of their constituencies as Northerners believe. To an even greater degree than exists elsewhere, the Southerner has lacked confidence in government and has abandoned the field almost entirely to the political opportunist. The agriculturalist has always tended to depend directly on Nature rather than government; whereas, the industrialist's direct dependence has always been on favorable legislation. It is entirely natural that politics has not become as high a calling in the South as it has in the industrial North.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that there is in the South a fanatical minority — victims of a genuine race superiority complex— for whom there is no help short of a religious conversion. Reason is to no avail.

A youthful marine corps veteran was relating a wartime experience "up North" to other members of his high school history class.

"After we got off the ship, this colored fellow started to walk right up the street with me. I stopped. 'What's the idea?' I says. He didn't even know what I meant. He sort of laughed and says, 'What do you mean? You mean you think you're better than I am?' I just had to tell him that where I came from you just don't walk down the street with niggers."

Several of his classmates, realizing that the South's tacit assumptions about segregation are not universal, asked, "Well, why couldn't you walk with him up there?" Another inquired, "Couldn't you have walked with Paul Robeson?"

"Or Joe Louis?" another put in.

With considerable heat the marine veteran expressed his loathing for any colored man who would try to walk beside him.

"But why—up there?" his classmates pressed.

"There are feelings more impor-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tant than reasons!" he called back.

But the majority of Southerners could be described as paternalistic conservatives so far as their attitudes toward the colored race are concerned. They are open to the idea that their colored neighbors from the other side of town may some day —even in the South—achieve a way of life that will remove the farce from the idealist's insistence on "equality."

They regard it remarkable that the Negroes—emerging from a state of total servility—have attained the degree of responsibility and decency that they have. For the present, though, they are sure of the generalization that Southern Negroes are their equals by no reasonable criterion. The Negro, they insist, should be socially segregated to avoid trouble.

**SEGREGATION**

When pressed on the issue of social segregation, they succumb subconsciously to the fear of racial intermarriage. The argument immediately switches to irrational ground where reason counts for nothing. It is supremely important for the Southern liberal to remember Max Lerner's thought that "it is irrational ideas that hold men—not men who hold irrational ideas."

The conservative majority is equally emphatic on another point. "While we don't believe in so-called social equality and all that," a typical Southern police judge often reminds the court, "we believe in fair play and your color doesn't make any difference to the kind of justice you get in here."

Although often rationalizing that the Negro is contented with his present lot, the majority is concerned about fair play and will not deny that the Negro's exclusion from cultural centers, public piers, and so forth retard his progress. If the social segregation wall is not threatened in the meantime, the majority can be shown that educational and cultural opportunities should be extended on the other side of the wall.

The intelligent liberal can maintain faith in a system of social equality which he knows he cannot live long enough to see. Meanwhile, he can help effect the emergence of one Southern race issue from the dark areas of irrational fear and prejudice into the light of logical investigation. Equal voting rights are within reach.

Last summer Alabamans went over the heads of party chieftains to elect "Big Jim" Fulsom—a man who promises repeal of the poll tax and who opposed the Boswell Amendment. (The amendment, requiring prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" the United States Constitution, was frankly promulgated as a safeguard against widespread registration of colored voters.)

On November 5, however, after the red herring of Northern interference had been used and the fear of a sinister colored voting bloc had been excited, the Boswell Amendment won by a margin of 89,163 votes to 76,843 votes.

The Southern white is a man with a grip on the tail of an angry frightened bull. Were equal voting rights granted, there would be Negro

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mayors, councilmen and county officials in several sections of the South. The Negro has been suppressed so long that his gaining the upper hand politically would probably be accompanied with excesses. To many thinking Southern whites, this seems too dangerous a price for democracy. However, they would be delighted to release their grip on the bull's tail if they thought they dared.

The testimony of Mayor Allen Saffold, of Greenwood, Mississippi, at a Senate investigating committee hearing in Jackson, Mississippi, provides another illuminating example of how a proven friend of the Negroes reasons that he should keep them from voting.

Saffold backed up his assertion that "colored people have no better friend" in the area than he by pointing out that he had handled soldiers' recreation facilities during the war and had invited 10,000 troops from nearby camps as guests in Greenwood every week-end. In the July primary, he said, he had helped pay two colored men $50 to discourage other colored men from voting.

"There is a lot of unrest all over the world," he explained. "Down here we have two classes of white people. There is the better class and then there is the peckerwood class—the rednecks. They are the ones that stir up more trouble on election day than all the other whites and Negroes put together."

That the fair-minded Southern majority is probably over-cautious is less important to the liberal than the knowledge that fundamentally the majority of Southerners want to go his direction.

Because the Southern liberal knows the necessity of keeping the racial issue on rational ground, he quietly proceeds without exciting the fears enshrouding the social segregation issue. Without speeches or waving banners, thousands of intelligent liberal-minded Southerners daily push the cause of fair play and advancement for the colored race.

At the town council meetings they point out the common sense of renting the town's athletic field to colored organizations some nights and to white organizations some nights. In their pulpits they introduce colored choirs to their white congregations and let the beauty of Negro art speak of human kinship. Editorial pages of country and metropolitan newspapers defend fair play at the polls and in the courts. In their Rotary Clubs they suggest a contribution to make possible a camp experience for a colored "Y" group.

There are indeed enough intelligent Southerners to smother out the racial fanatics and bigots. The Northern liberal's role is to help them produce the economic climate in which fascism does not flourish. It has become a truism that poverty and a mass persecution complex constitute the perfect economic and psychological conditions for the fascist charlatan. Where but among the poor, hopeless and violently dissatisfied could the recently squelched Columbian movement have taken root? Race hate cannot be divorced from economics.

The best hope for a democratic South is an industrialized, prosperous South that has been given a square deal.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Free lance placement must stop*

# Stop the Baby Traffic!

By Nochem S. Winnet

Judge of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia

"WOMAN physician sued for $1,000,000 in damage suit." This is a recent headline in the newspapers. The plaintiff, a war widow, in the City of Indianapolis, claims that she was talked into signing an agreement for adoption of her child. The suit is most unusual. Not many physicians have been sued for their part in the placement of babies for adoption. This is one of the cases that has focused the attention of the country on the current traffic in babies.

It is difficult to put one's finger on the actual number involved and the price that is paid for babies. There is evidence that baby traffic has become big business. Sales for as high as $5,000 are rumored!

The extent of the traffic cannot be judged by the abuses which come up from time to time. The Federal Children's Bureau estimates that 50,000 petitions for children were filed in 1944. In about one-third of these adoptions, according to a recent article, "babies were bought and paid for, or given away like kittens . . . no questions asked; no records kept."

There are some doctors who participate in the actual baby racket. They work with men and women whose business it is to find a market for babies at the highest price. This practice presents a challenge to every civilized community. The sale of human beings as chattels should have ended long ago. Some states, such as Pennsylvania, have legislation which impose a severe fine or imprisonment on anyone who "deals in humanity by trading, bartering, buying, selling or dealing in infant children." Sooner or later this law will catch up with the "dealers" in babies.

I am not concerned with those who are engaged in the sale of babies to high bidders. I am concerned with those individuals, and particularly honest and conscientious doctors who believe they have a definite contribution to make in seeing to it that a baby is placed in a home for adoption. Some obstetricians of outstanding ability, of unquestionable reputation, honestly feel that the doctor is best qualified to determine in what home a baby, that he has helped to bring into the world, shall be placed.

What is involved in an adoption? Is is just giving a baby on hand to people who want it? Even the most ardent proponent of the unrestricted right of a physician to place a baby, will admit that there must be some standard. The baby should be healthy and normal. The adoptive parents should be stable and reputable people. Thinking physicians would probably be willing to admit



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

additional standards. They would say that the characteristics, the qualities and the potentialities of the baby should be related to characteristics of the adoptive parents, so that the child will be placed in as suitable a home as possible.

Is a physician in a position to safeguard these standards? I question it. The placement of a child is a specialized skill in a field of knowledge which has been developed for a long period of time by placement agencies. Methods and procedures have been worked out which are time-tested and secure.

The placement of a child involves three distinct interests: (1) the interest of the child; (2) the interest of the adoptive parents; (3) the interest of the natural parent of the child.

No physician can immediately determine the health and potentialities of a child at birth. It is not sufficient merely to place the child in the home of people who have the apparent means to bring it up.

**BAD PLACEMENT**

An unfortunate placement through a physician was recently uncovered in proceedings to revoke an adoption. The child placed in a minister's home immediately after birth developed an eye defect which resulted in total blindness at the end of one year. The emotional complications in the home of the adoptive parents can well be imagined. In spite of the willingness of the minister to abide by the adoption, he was persuaded that the happiness of his own home was threatened. The mother who had gone through the emotional and legal difficulty involved in giving up her child, and who had reorganized her life, was forced to assume its support again.

The primary consideration of so many physicians in cases, not involving the sales of babies, is to help a friend by giving a baby to a person with apparent means to bring it up. Children have been given to single women. A boy recently sentenced to an Industrial School was adopted by a single woman, in violation of the most fundamental law of adoptions—that a child shall be placed in a normal home, and a normal home is one which has a father and mother. This particular woman was not maternal or affectionate and seemed to believe that motherly love was represented by coddling and giving the child material things. The boy felt no real security and ultimately fell into delinquency. The adoptive mother rationalized that she was not at fault, that the boy had inherited his delinquent tendencies. Of course, modern courts would question the advisability of placing a child for adoption with a single woman. Cases are on record of a child being given to a mother mentally disturbed by the loss of her natural child on the simple belief that getting another child would cure the disturbance. So often the solution is not so simple.

In a free lance placement (a placement by an individual), there is seldom the effort to fit a particular child to a particular family. It is merely one of demand and supply. No child should be consciously put into a home where more will be expected of it than is possible for its potentialities.

Yes, it is quite true, disappoint-

REPRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments and even tragedy occur in homes of parents who rear their own natural children. This is a gamble of birth which we have always had and probably always will have. I wish it were possible to reduce it. The sciences of eugenics and medicine are struggling to that end. But there is no need for such a gamble in an intelligent placement and adoption program. The law and social process can and must labor together to bring into being a family relationship which should ordinarily be of greater stability and provide a greater possible happiness and usefulness through the years than many brought into being by the labor of natural forces.

Seldom is the interest of the child, or the adoptive parents, protected by a free lance placement. The pediatrician or obstetrician has no fair basis for estimating a very young baby's physical or mental potentialities. The earliest test that can be made upon a baby is after three months. Most individual placements are made immediately after birth. Adoptive parents will vow that they will love the baby as their own, come what may. But when the baby proves not to be suitable, the complications in the lives of both the baby and the adoptive parents are many. While a normal adopted baby may be almost the same as a natural baby in a good home, an abnormal baby can only mean disappointment, bitterness, frustration, and even tragedy.

The social service department of a hospital reports a baby released upon the mother's order 10 days after its birth. The social history of the mother reveals previous abortions, a prior illegitimate birth and a criminal conviction. One cannot help but be frightened by the prospects that await both the child and the adopting parents.

The natural mother, too, must be protected in a placement or adoption. She is not in condition physically or mentally to make such an important and far-reaching decision as to give up her child for life so soon after birth. Ordinarily, she is so beset by financial pressure, by fear and anxiety, that she is willing to sign any paper which will give her medical attention and provide for the baby. Experience has shown that the period after birth can be one of calm reflection on her part. A change of mind is not unusual. The mother who has had the help of a trained worker, who has not been worried into a decision and has been assured that she is the person to decide, is not apt to change her mind after she has made a choice.

Her change of mind may be actuated by other considerations other than her desire to have the baby with her. In one case, the mother had signed away the baby to an agency. The child was placed in a temporary home for study and for ultimate adoption. A few months later the mother appeared and demanded the baby. She stated that she had met a couple at a party to whom she wanted to give the baby. The danger of her contact with the adoptive parents to herself and to the baby was pointed out to her. No normal child should be subjected to the emotional tug of two mothers. Apparently she has been legally advised of her rights. She asserted that it was her baby and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that she had a right to give it to anyone whom she chose. Another mother changed her mind because of a very lucrative offer she had received. At first, she denied that there was any such motivation. She claimed it was her love for the baby and she had a right to give it to a person who had assured her that the baby would go to very wealthy adoptive parents! Again, there was insistence on her legal right to dispose of the baby as she saw fit.

What is the legal right of a mother to give away a baby? There is neither a legal nor a moral right to barter in human beings. If a law were passed requiring that placements of children shall be made only through social agencies, either public or private, no mother would thereafter be in a position to withdraw a baby from one home and place it in another for adoption.

There is a reluctance on the part of physicians to send a potential mother to a social agency. They feel that it is a breach of a confidential relationship. Some believe that they are subjecting their patients to the questioning and searching of a third person which might be obviated by the placement of the child by the doctor himself. The doctor often allows himself to become involved in his patients' problems. In his effort to solve them quickly, he is sometimes instrumental in the placement of babies in unsuitable homes. Even though under the pressure of the moment he may feel the social agency moves slowly, nevertheless, the problem is theirs, not his, and should be passed on to them.

Most of the objections to social agencies, I fear, arise not so much out of the desire to protect the confidence of the patient but from the dislike for social workers. The opinion is still prevalent that they are a body of cold professional automatons. Nothing could be further from the truth. Social workers are persons trained to deal in the complex field of human relations. They are usually not only college graduates but also graduates from a professional school of social work. In their work, they are supervised by people who have had in addition to education, years of experience in the field. They are professional people, just as doctors and lawyers are professional people. They are bound by a code of ethics that is as honored as any code in any profession. A cardinal principle of this profession is—the keeping of strict confidence of the problems of clients.

A woman bearing a child out of wedlock is in need of friendly and helpful advice. No busy doctor is able to give such a person the kind of care and solace which she requires. It is the work of a competent professional social worker. A physician could make a great social contribution by preparing the way for such a person to meet a social worker. I fear that only too often a physician is not familiar with the social resources of the community, of the readiness of trained workers to come to his office to help him in dealing with this problem which is not exclusively a medical one. This is the fault not only of physicians but also of the many agencies in the community which have not made them aware of their readiness to serve them.

REPRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This also must be said for the reputable physician. He is confronted with an immediate problem —finding a home for a child. At times some social agencies cannot give the immediate relief which the doctor demands. This deficiency is a challenge to the social agencies to have available temporary foster homes or institutions to care for the child immediately after birth. The danger of an ill-advised adoption, however, far outweighs the immediate advantage of a home to which the child can be sent.

Can an adoption court satisfactorily safeguard the child, the adoptive parents, and the natural mother from the hazards of individual placements? I believe not. Of course, it can afford a degree of protection. By far the greatest number of petitions for adoption that are refused are those which involve individual placements. The difficulty is that the court is not in on the placement of the child originally. So much disappointment, grief and unhappiness could be avoided if there were an adequate and justified placement from the very start. It is a severe blow to adoptive parents to be told that the adoption cannot be approved by the court. The court's position should be merely an ultimate safeguard.

An adoption is both a social process and a legal process. In the social process the factors taken into consideration are race, color, religion, family background, education, heredity, age and health of the child; the adoptive parents' economic and emotional stability. In this social process every bit of available information and scientific knowledge is used in planning for the child a new and continuing relationship. The last step is the legal process in which the court approves or disapproves the social process. It is the end of the former relationship and the bringing into being a new relationship, a relationship with every opportunity for stability, usefulness and happiness.

The traffic in babies represents a challenge to society. It can be reduced to a minimum by the cooperation of doctors and social agencies.

---

• Tourists: the second sugar crop in Havana.

• "Only a mediocre writer is always at his best."
—*Somerset Maugham*

• Joe Bonavita, who had given nearly $4,550 away, was forced into the hospital for a mental examination. "When Rockefeller gives away millions to charity, nobody says he's crazy and nobody sends him to the hospital. Why did they do it to me?"
(But does Rockefeller give it away?)

• Lord Halifax, former British Ambassador, took a trip through Texas and stopped at the Consolidated Aircraft plant in Fort Worth to address the workers. The master of ceremonies didn't feel at home with the ambassador's titles. He got along well until the very end: "When the speech is over, if anyone wants to ask questions, the Lord will provide the answer."
—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Pressure Groups in Action:

## II—THE DAIRYMEN'S LEAGUE COOPERATIVE

By Marjorie Foulkrod

*The first article in this series (December, 1946) raised the question of the true function of special interest groups in a representative government. Since the passage of the Congressional Reorganization bill, August 2, 1946, requiring the registration of Congressional Lobbyists, over 520 have registered. They represent labor, big business, farm organizations, professional groups, reformers and special producers. But who represents the interests of the public?*

*The second article of the series presents a regional producers' cooperative functioning as a special interest group.*

*"Nobody," said the King, "could say that I'm a fussy man, but I do like a little butter for my bread."*

LIKE A. A. Milne's immortal king, very few of us are unreasonably fussy. But when bread, butter, milk and all basic food prices rise, we squawk in protest.

Recently, New York's seven million people, who drink, on the average, three quarters of a pint of milk daily, paid about $15,000 more than was necessary each day in January for milk.

Twenty-six thousand farmers in the state of New York and its borderline territories belong to the Dairymen's League Cooperative Association, Inc. This organization was founded with the purpose of improving the basic economic position of the farmer and his family.

The story is told of Farmer Brown who shipped his milk to the market, sold the milk, paid the driver and the costs of trucking, then went home for another truckload to pay for the difference. Under these conditions, few farmers could afford to stay in business for long. Successful agricultural production by the single farmer depends on successful marketing of his produce. As a one-man business he cannot handle both production and marketing, for marketing is dependent upon many factors outside his control. Only in group action, can he hope to make an adequate profit.

In 1909 a group of dairy farmers in Orange County, New York, organized and incorporated their organization as the Dairymen's League. Progress and development were slow, costly and discouraging, but by 1916 the League had sufficient membership to act. On October 1, 1916, it notified milk dis-



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tributors that the League and not the buyers would fix prices.

This precipitated an 11-day milk war during which no milk was sold, processed or distributed. Several farmers who persisted in selling to distributors found their milk dumped in gutters. Both distributors and farmers lost money; the consumer was deprived of milk; the League membership increased by thousands. Finally the distributors agreed to pay League prices, and the League was recognized as a bargaining agent.

As early as 1916, plans were being considered for the transformation of the League from a bargaining to a merchandising association, but they were interrupted by the war. The peculiar marketing conditions caused by the war made it necessary for representatives of the Federal Food Administration to assist in determining prices.

Notice the interesting parallel which follows between post-war conditions in 1918 and today.

In December, 1918, when distributors and Dairymen's League members met to determine milk prices for January, 1919, they received word from the Federal Food Administration that due to the termination of the war, it would no longer act as mediator in determining milk prices.

The December, 1918, price had been $4.06 per hundred pounds. The League offered to sell milk in January, 1919, for $4.01 per hundred pounds; distributors offered $3.54 as their maximum price. The result was another milk war 18 days in duration in which two parties lost large sums of money and the third party, the consuming public, was deprived of milk.

The distributors surrendered and the Dairymen's League, Inc., was re-organized as the Dairymen's League Cooperative Association, Inc. This process was completed in 1921.

At the present time, the Dairymen's League Cooperative Association is a non-stock membership corporation, financed by loans from members which create a revolving capital fund amounting to about $13,000,000. Certificates of indebtedness are issued for the loans. The membership contracts authorize the League to deduct from the farmers' monthly milk checks as much as the directors think necessary to meet capital requirements.

Part of the capital is invested in country receiving, processing and shipping plants, which number 250 at the present time; a part in city wholesale distributing plants; and the rest in working capital.

About half of the milk sold in New York City is handled by the Dairymen's League. Since the completion of the Dairylea plant in Manhattan, the League has five wholesale processing and distributing plants in the metropolitan area including northern New Jersey. The Manhattan plant alone is capable of handling 500,000 consumers daily!

The plan under which the League has operated since reorganization in 1921, has, as one of its fundamental principles, that surplus should not be permitted to depress the price of the entire supply.

Milk, for example, is a perishable,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seasonal product. A farmer cannot store milk in a barn in a summer temperature of 95 degrees and wait for a busy trucker to take it to the plant. Nor can the farmer afford to ship his milk to the market in the spring flush period, and find every other farmer has arrived the same day. The market overflows with milk, and each farmer receives a price too low to pay for his trouble.

The farmer's dislike of dealer domination, under which he received the price for his milk that the current market would bear, led the League into cooperative ownership and management of the 250 country plants which take care of milk for about half the League farmers. The other half continue to sell to their local plants which are owned by distributors.

The next step from ownership of country plants was expansion to cooperative marketing on a large scale, including wholesale distribution in metropolitan areas. At present, the League, although a regional organization, has reached the position of one of the chief dairy products interests in the country.

The development has not been all smooth sledding. First of all, many farmers, once launched in the distributor "Big Money" business as they considered it, were surprised to find the distributors' business was not the push-over they had imagined.

Secondly, distributors who owned country plants and paid the League farmers for their milk considered it unfair that the same League farmers they paid, were competing as members of the League in wholesale distribution of the milk.

—Herblock in *The Washington Post*
"FAT CAT"

This is especially significant when you realize that the savings of the Dairymen's League as a cooperative are virtually tax exempt, whereas its competitors must pay large scale corporation taxes.

One argument favoring the tax exemption of cooperatives was brought forth in the First Interim report of the House Committee on Small Businesses. Cooperatives, according to the report, do not endanger other forms of business as the volume of business they enjoy and the degree in which they participate in the national income is nominal. This is unquestionably true of some farm cooperatives and some others, but let us look at examples of economic and political influence wielded by the Dairymen's League Cooperative Association.

The League does not function as a Lobby in Washington under its name. Occasionally it writes let-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ters to the President and to Congressmen on matters that concern the New York milk shed, as for example in January, 1946, when the League requested President Truman's aid on dairy policies.

However, prominent members of the League's Board of Directors, President Henry H. Rathbun and Treasurer Leon Chapin, are on the Board of Directors and Executive Committee, respectively, of the National Cooperative Milk Producers Federation, an association of 81 groups in 47 states. The national association in which the League is so strongly represented, keeps producers informed on Washington developments, keeps in contact with the Department of Agriculture, watches economic trends, reports on commodity research, handles legislative matters and works with Congress and its committees.

At present, Charles W. Holman, Executive Secretary of the Federation, is working for an adequate protective tariff for all dairy products, fats and oils. Holman, along with other interested lobbyists, will probably continue to press for amendment of the trade agreement acts.

During the war the National Cooperative Milk Producers Federation aided in the presentation of a case which resulted in a federal court ruling in Detroit .that soybean butter, like yellow oleomargarine, is a dairy product substitute and subject to the federal 10 cent per pound color tax.

The restrictive taxes on margarine, maintained during the war when there was little butter available, are witness to successful dairy interest lobbying. The first federal act, August 2, 1886, required licensing of manufacturers and dealers, taxing retailers $48 a year, and the product 2 cents a pound.

To give the devil his due, it must be pointed out that, at that time, margarine was a very inferior product.

The second step in the dairy states' campaign was prohibition of the sale of yellow margarine, to prevent fraudulent practices. White margarine does not appeal to the eye and cannot be passed off as butter. Yellow, they claimed, was the natural color of butter, though artificial color was often added. The natural yellow color of soy bean butter and yellow margarine has to be removed to conform to this restriction.

At present, both products are 80 per cent fat. Both contain Vitamin A; butter, naturally, margarine by fortification.

Some dairy companies have met the problem of competition by selling margarine themselves. But the 10 cent per pound color tax remains. The best defense the dairy interests can make is that it is a preventative of fraud. No one questions the integrity of the largest margarine firms. Few small stores can afford the license to sell margarine. Yet, while margarine continues to be a cheap butter substitute, while dairy interests have effective lobbying methods, a nutritious pure food will be restricted by federal law.

The most spectacular and successful example of the Federation working for legislative action came in the summer of 1946 when the National

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cooperative Milk Producers Association joined with all other dairy interests, with the sympathy of a long butter-starved public, in a campaign for decontrol of dairy products and the inequalities of price control.

An advertisement in *The Washington Post* signed by Land O'Lakes Creameries, Inc., Twin City Milk Producers Association, and the National Cooperative Milk Producers Association appeared to be part of the campaign. The ad, presenting a case for the dairy farmer who made less than 53 cents an hour under price control, was later published in the Appendix to the Congressional Record at the request of Representative Wiley of Wisconsin.

Earlier on June 28, 1946, a letter from Charles W. Holman was used by Mr. Wiley to illustrate a point on the advantages of lifting price ceilings.

We can see how the League is represented on the national scene, but in its regional capacity the Dairymen's League Cooperative Association exerts considerable economic and political pressure. It maintains a position of power which enabled it to boost and then depress the price of butter in Philadelphia, a city completely outside its business operations, and to add approximately $15,000 a day to New York's January milk bills.

To understand the recent controversy between the Dairymen's League and the United States Government, we must understand that there is a Federal Marketing Order which establishes a minimum price guaranteed fluid milk producers on the basis of the prices of top grade butter and of skimmed milk powder for the preceding 30-day period.

On December 5 the Metropolitan Cooperative Milk Producers' Bargaining Agency, of which the League is a member, negotiated with the Dairy Division of the Department of Agriculture for a hearing on the amendment of the New York marketing order and for establishing satisfactory milk prices for January. It looked as if the price of milk would drop 22c a hundred pounds. The negotiations failed.

As a result of a policy formed in the executive council of the Dairymen's League, on December 17, President Henry H. Rathbun instructed his broker to buy butter at not less than 84 cents a pound.

The record shows that between December 18 and December 24 the broker bought, for the League's account, 668,568 pounds of butter at a cost of $561,757; 471,568 pounds at 84 cents and 196,492 pounds at 84½ cents. As soon as the League withdrew its support, the price tumbled to 74 cents. The move immediately became front page news. League President Rathbun issued a note explaining that the League had bought butter "to prevent a threatened decline of 22 cents a hundred pounds in the producers' prices for fluid milk in January." If the New York price had dropped below 84 cents on December 24, the January fluid milk price to producers would have been reduced 22 cents a hundredweight, under the butter-pricing formula in the Federal Milk Order.

So much for the producer, but what about the consumer, who was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

paying 23 cents a quart for milk in some cases and 85 cents a pound for butter?

The New York City Consumers Council filed a complaint and demanded the dismissal of Agriculture Secretary Clinton Anderson, charging that he hampered the investigation and sought to justify the League's butter operation.

Federal authorities filed suit against the League and four of its officers, Henry H. Rathbun, Leon Chapin, Hadley Benson and Herbert Seeley. They were charged with violation of the Commodity Exchange Act for manipulation or attempted manipulation of the price of any commodity in interstate commerce.

Mr. Rathbun himself told the United States Attorney, John F. X. McGohey, December 31 that purchases of butter were made with three ends in view:

1. to protect the interests of producers by maintenance of January Class 1 milk prices;
2. to protect consumers by preventing diversion of milk to Boston and other markets which reduction in Class 1 milk prices would cause;
3. to obtain a much needed supply of butter for members of the Association as well as its retail outlets.

Unquestionably, from a short range view, the interests of the producer were served; he received $5.46 per hundred pounds for January milk. However, a farmer's journal, *The Rural New Yorker*, observed,

"There is no question that Mr. Rathbun's butter gamble is morally indefensible. It is not as some may think, a smart move from a short range viewpoint, because, while producers stand to gain on their January milk, the almost sure prospect of a greater than normal slump in the butter price, as a result of this scandal, may mean lower prices in the months to follows."

Mr. Rathbun's second point of defense — protection of consumers because low prices would divert milk to other markets—proved a specious argument in the opinion of members of the milk industry. They pointed out that farmers rarely and at considerable expense, ship to new centers; and the trend for neighboring markets (Boston, Lowell-Lawrence, Fall River, and Philadelphia) is very similar to New York. In the case of butter, the New York market completely dominates neighboring cities.

On January 27, 1947, the League was found guilty of rigging the price of January milk, a violation of the Commodities Exchange Act. The Dairymen were forced to pay a $25,000 fine, and each of the four executives had to pay $1,000.

The move that looked like a shrewd business deal earned, for each of the 26,000 members, 44 cents more per hundred pounds of milk sold that month above the price received in February. Whether they stand to gain in the long run is questionable; the members had to buy the butter back at much reduced prices, pay the fines and combat the unfavorable notoriety their organization has brought upon itself.

The producers will probably gain

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the "rigging gamble" in that it nay result in revision of the entire nilk pricing formula. In fact, a iearing for revision of the northeast irea pricing formula has been announced for mid-March by the Department of Agriculture.

*The Rural New Yorker* presents he case for the farmer: "Dairymen iave argued for years that milk prices should not be tied to butter because the butter market has always been dominated by a few big lealers who can and do rig the prices up and down. Farmers have been ignored by dealers, their farm tooges and government agencies. Now when price rigging is on the ip, the Federal government under he weight of public opinion, will e forced to do something about t. . . ." Consequently, *The Rural New Yorker* continues with the assertion that the butter price rigging will bring upon League President Rathbun the wrath and punishment f Rathbun's "big dealer bosses for is butter betrayal."

The Dairymen's League has grown from a handful of struggling farmers bargaining for a better price to a powerful organization able to manipulate essential commodity prices. It has shown it can influence milk and butter markets in all the Northeast area with the considerable tax-exempt sums at its disposal. But people are going to wonder about this tax exemption. We suspect that the League's action may prove harmful to the entire cooperative movement in that it will renew the taxation question.

We have shown the origin of the Dairymen's League Cooperative Association, Inc., its purpose and development. For many years the cooperative movement, like the labor union movement, counteracted a gross inequality in our economy. However, the recent action of the League shows us the tremendous power of the organization. Power wielded for its own special interests, works against the common welfare. In this case, however, the Department of Justice was able to protect the public interest.

---

• A distraught reader once wrote to a newspaper editor asking: "Why do we ever have hard times?"

The editor replied: "Lady, hard times is a period when people quit feeding the cow, and wonder why she gives less milk."

—*Howard Way*

• Two ten-year-olds were gripping their seats in anticipation of Superman at a local theatre. As their hero dropped down onto the screen, we heard one ask: 'He isn't real is he?"

"Naw," his more worldly companion whispered, "but he's good, ain't he!"

• A man went to call on Mrs. Jones, a neighboring farmer's wife. He was greeted at the door by this barrage: "Wait until I tell you what happened to John this morning. He got up as usual and went to the barn. He didn't come back for breakfast, and when I went to see what was wrong, what do you think I saw? There was John hanging from a rafter—and not a chore done!"

—*Gourmet*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# FORUM: SHOULD CONGRES

## YES!

**By Nancy Mayo Waterman**

**Typical Closed Shop Contract:**

*The employer agrees to employ none but members in good standing of the union to do all work that may be required. The employer agrees that whenever he may be in need of additional workers, he shall first make application to the union for the same, specifying the number and kind of workers needed. The union shall be given 48 hours to supply the specified help. If the union is unable to furnish the required help, the employer shall have the right to secure his help from elsewhere, and the union agrees to give a working card to such workers upon application for affiliation, which must take place within one week.*

*A member in good standing is one who is fully paid up or is in arrears for not more than four weeks of dues and assessments in the union, and who carries the union membership card and who has not for any cause been suspended from the union.*

THE closed shop has been, since early in the history of organized labor in America, a method by which unions have sought security for their strengthening economic and political structure. In the nineteenth century, the American laborer found himself to a large extent at the mercy of employers and invading hoards of immigrants used to, and willing to continue, life at lower standards than the American workman had become accustomed. The laborers joined in protective organizations to defend their belief in the inherent dignity of man. They had a growing consciousness that the economic conditions under which they must work determined in large part their political freedom as well as their acquisition of daily bread. The closed shop was used as a weapon against recalcitrant non-union workers who were willing to work for lower wages, longer hours and under worse conditions than union members. Through its effective use at this early period, unions gained strength in membership and bargaining power.

I seek to show in the following pages that this weapon, forged in the early days of labor organization, has become a threat to the attainment of those ideals for which workers organized.

It has been, and is continuing to be, argued that the closed shop contract, compelling employers to hire only members of the union with which they are negotiating, is a guarantee against labor difficulties, and should be adopted in fairness to union members who sacrifice time and money in ac-

**(Continued on page 232)**



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# BOLISH THE CLOSED SHOP?

## NO!

### By Sylvan Kling

SINCE 1892, the foes of organized labor have tried to doom the closed shop and deprive workers of their right to bargain collectively. The same forces which tried to label unions "anti-American" in 1892 are at work today. Thwarted in their many attempts to bring the employee under the dictatorial thumb of the employer, these forces are now urging Congress to abolish the closed shop, the instrument which puts the teeth into collective bargaining. Without the closed shop, collective bargaining cannot exist. It would be neither "collective" nor "bargaining." Such a condition would force the employee to accept unjust terms of employment dictated by the employer. Conditions still painfully familiar to industrial workers who suffered under the oppression of sweatshops would be restored.

### HISTORY OF CONTROVERSY

The closed shop, as such, came into being in 1892 when hostilities broke out between the Carnegie Steel Company and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. Carnegie Steel pressed for an "open shop" and tried to force unions that had been operating under verbal closed-shop agreements to put those agreements in writing. The union resisted the move, and in retaliation, the so-called "open shop" was labelled "The American Plan" by its advocates who hoped that the stigma of "anti-American plan" would be attached to the union shops. The long struggle began.

The debate continued until World War I. In 1917, both labor and management set up a howl for their respective shops. Puzzled and cautious, the National War Labor Board decided to preserve the *status quo*. The hostilities continued.

Well aware that labor was being dominated by management to an unhealthy degree, the National Labor Relations Act was passed by Congress on July 5, 1935. Better known as the Wagner Act, it was not set in motion for practical purposes until a Supreme Court decision in April, 1937, held it to be constitutional. Labor won a hard-fought and well-earned round. Management was whittled down to size: employees and employers now met on a more equal footing.

Realizing that its mastery was being swept away, management sought to minimize the Wagner Act by having it abolished or amended in such a way that it would be rendered impotent. During the years that the Wagner Act has been in existence, its enemies have repeatedly attacked it on one ground or another.

**(Continued on page 236)**



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page 230)

quiring the advantages which are equally enjoyed by non-union members in an "open shop." It is also argued that it is a convenience for the employer, as the union is thus the sole bargaining agent. Certain union members feel that the very existence of organized labor would be threatened if the closed shop were to be outlawed.

Labor has stated that its constitutional right of contract is abridged if the closed shop is denied and that no court in America has the right to force union members to associate with non-union workers whom they neither like nor respect.

That the closed shop contract precludes labor difficulties is obviously erroneous. A large percentage of the strikes in recent years have been over the inclusion of such a clause in contracts, or over the operation of the principle once it is agreed upon by industry and labor. At the present time, United States Steel and the United Steelworkers of America are at loggerheads over the inclusion, by the corporation, of the following clause in its proposals for a new labor agreement: *The Agreement shall not abridge the fundamental right of an employee to determine for himself, free from intimidation, coercion or discrimination from any source, whether or not to be a member of the Union.* On December 19, 1946, the National Labor Relations Board, dealing with the case of the J. I. Case Company, Racine, Wisconsin vs. the United Auto Workers, C.I.O., ruled that the company must bargain on the closed shop issue. The union at that time was carrying on the longest strike in effect in the country, having struck over the issue of the closed shop the day after Christmas, 1945.

The argument that a non-union member should not enjoy the fruits of union activity rests on the assumption that it is indisputable that union action is always beneficial to the worker concerned. It is questionable whether all coal miners agree that the continued strikes organized by John L. Lewis have always been advantageous to their economic position. Once it is agreed that union activity may not be considered beneficial by a worker, the argument that its benefits deserve his membership becomes merely a matter of opinion and falls to the ground.

If workers may differ in opinion on the advantages accrued in joining a union, it becomes no longer a sufficient reason that the employer is convenienced by the closed shop arrangement under which negotiation with only one bargaining agent is necessary.

According to a survey conducted in 1944 by the Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, New Jersey, the union movement today represents 68 per cent of a cross section of American workers. The statistics show 7 per cent to be pro-union. Only 14 per cent are found to be in favor of the closed shop. The conscription of laborers into unions, obviously against their desire, which occurs when closed shop contracts are signed in an industry, tends, in the opinion of many union members, to be a disrupting and weakening influence and injurious to the union structure. As Herman

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Steinkraus points out in the November, 1946, issue of *The Annals of The American Academy*, "the real security of any union in any plant over a period of years rests not on any rules and agreements, but on its doing a good job, for its employees, the customers, and the management."

In defense of the union's position on its right of contract and its freedom of association, Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, wrote: *Labor is property, so to speak, in the hands of the laborer quite as much as a right to do business is property in the hands of the head of a mercantile establishment. . . . Suppose they* [organized workmen] *unitedly determine not to labor in association with Negroes or under a red-haired foreman or with men of another nationality, why may they not do so? In so doing they simply dispose of their own property rights as deemed meet by them.* Mr. Ralston did not foresee that, in time, unions, exercising virtual monopoly rights over labor in certain industries by means of the closed shop, could thus at their whim, exercising their rights of free association and freedom of contract, exclude all Negroes from those industries, or all red-haired foremen or freckled-faced New Englanders, as the mood suited them.

In 1904, Samuel Gompers himself wrote in the *American Federationist*, *The* [closed] *shop rests on the freedom of contract, or individual liberty. There is no greater element of "monopoly" in it than in any other contract for services or materials. If you give work to A, you can not give the same work to B. Has B any grievance? Would it not be ridiculous for him to object to the contract in the name of equality? . . There is no blow at idealism in the* [closed] *shop. There would be if the unions were close corporations, monopolies, aristocracies.*

## MONOPOLY VS. FREEDOM

That the American Federation of Labor had achieved a monopoly over the San Francisco Bay area by 1934 became apparent during a longshoremen's strike. Several hundred union members decided to remain at work. They discovered in the ensuing years that they were blacklisted. Some 400 to 500 men completely lost their means of livelihood.

In May, 1936, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, A.F.L., forced an electrical equipment company in New York to sign a closed shop agreement. The employer requested that he be allowed to keep 25 Negro workers whom he had employed for the last 10 years. He was forced to dismiss them when the union refused them membership.

Union members who are at odds with their leaders, as in the case of the members of a shoe union which fell into unscrupulous hands, may find themselves blacklisted as "menaces" to the union and disrupting "influences." Thus a union member, who is part of a minority opposed to the union leaders, is denied his right of freedom of speech, is termed a danger to the organization and faces the threat of expulsion.

In another case, a theatre chain was asked to discharge workers who, in years gone by, had replaced other workers on strike, and, even though the workers wished to join the union, they were refused membership.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hutton in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*
"OPERATIONS CROSSROADS!"

It becomes evident, as the discussion continues, that various rights and freedoms are at odds with each other. In insisting on *his* right of contract and freedom of association, the union member employs the threat of a labor boycott to deny his *employer's* freedom of contract with non-union men and to force him to associate willy-nilly with union members.

Every American enjoying the fruits of a democratic constitution should have the right to work when, where and for whom he pleases, and to seek the wages that seem suitable to him. The unions are quite frankly attempting to compel the workers to follow their neatly laid out course of attack. Rule by compulsion may seem a neater, more efficient method in the short run, but we in America have always held that freedom of choice is an essential ingredient of life in a democracy.

We have always maintained that a state, "deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed" shall alone exercise the compulsion which limits an individual's freedom and subjects him to taxation (a non-union worker forced to join a union pays a tax in the form of union dues). According to the *London Economist,* such compulsions should be exercised by the state alone, "with all the attendant apparatus of Parliamentary supervision, public discussion and appeal to impartial courts of law. To farm out to private organizations the right to impose compulsion, to do so with open eyes and in the full light of day, would be the beginning of the end of the free society. This is why the community ought always to look with a very jaundiced eye on any manifestations of the 'closed shop' principle."

And the body politic will indeed be menaced as the recent nation-wide transportation and fuel strikes have shown, as long as labor unions are willing to sacrifice the public interest for union gain.

Union leaders, at present, are the servants of often ill-informed, irresponsible groups. They exercise leadership within narrow limits, because they fear dismissal if they stray too far away from consideration of the group's special interests. In such circumstances, the weapon of the rank and file's disapproval of "moderation" in leadership becomes greater than any consideration of society as a whole.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Without the guarantee of safety which the closed shop clause in union contracts gives, the unions must obviously gain security in other ways. They must look to the growth of social responsibility in both union leaders and members. Union members must learn to view their actions as part of the actions of a society anxious for better living conditions for all.

Eleven years have passed since the federal government gave its official sanction to the closed shop in the following clauses in the National Labor Relations Act: *Nothing in this act . . . shall preclude an employer from making an agreement with a labor organization . . . to require, as a condition of employment, membership therein, if such labor organization is the representative of the employees so provided in Section 9(a) in the appropriate collective bargaining unit, covered by such agreements when made.*[1]

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, (Bulletin 829) some 10,500,000 of the 14,500,000 workers employed under collective contracts in January, 1945, were working under union security measures of some sort, among which the closed shop was predominant. This number represented more than three times as many workers as were in the entire trade union movement in 1935. In 1944, Arkansas and Florida passed closed shop bans to stem the tide of labor monopoly. Both were careful to word the amendments in such a way as to enforce legally the principle of true freedom of the individual. Employers could not deny workers the right to labor on account of membership *or non-membership* in any labor union. Thus the worker gained by law the security which he sought in the early days of labor organizations against employers too anxious to ban union men altogether.

In the elections of last November, Nebraska, South Dakota and Arizona voted for constitutional amendments barring the closed shop.

That the closed shop should be outlawed by the federal government is the opinion of certain members of our present congress. They feel that the above-quoted clause in the National Labor Relations Act legalizing the practice should be eliminated.

## BALL-TAFT-SMITH BILL

Perhaps the best known of the bills including the proviso is that introduced by Senators Ball of Minnesota, Taft of Ohio and Smith of New Jersey. Senator Ball, in reference to the closed shop has described it as "the most reactionary and illiberal thing we've got in our industrial picture."

Testifying before the Senate Labor and Welfare Committee on January 28, 1947, the Senator also pointed out that there is no difference in principle between the "yellow dog" or individual agreement, declared illegal, under which an employee says that, as a condition of employment, he will not join a union, and a union security provision under which the employee is forced to join and remain a union member.

[1] Section 9(a) provides that representatives selected by the majority of employees shall

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Our approach," Ball states, "is to eliminate or condition the special privileges and legal immunities of labor unions, to make their vast economic power responsible to the public interest, and to prevent those monopolistic practices which clearly are harmful to the public and dangerous to freedom."

During hearings of the same committee, Dr. Leo Wolman, Professor of Economics at Columbia University, concluded that America faces two alternatives: to continue the *status quo,* which would mean more extensive intervention by the government in labor matters, including compulsory arbitration with wage fixing and loss of freedom in industry; or the "attempt to re-establish equality under the law."

I feel that the structure of society which gave birth to the self-protective instincts of the labor unions has changed with more rapidity than the unions are yet aware. The principle of unionism has been accepted in America. No one aware of the changed living conditions of workers since the days of the appalling sweat shops denies that the union movement has been, in the main, beneficial to the worker and to the economic well-being of our country as a whole. The large number of pro-union workers in America now precludes the contention that without such security clauses as the closed shop the union movement would disintegrate. However, the unions' present tendency to monopolize the labor market, to force small unions to amalgamate with larger unions, to cripple the economic and, in turn, the political freedom of the worker, thus forcing the government to take action in defense of society as a whole, should be halted.

Yes! The worker should have security, which an awakened society of today understands is his due, but outlaw the closed shop which is the weapon of monopoly, stealing the constitutional freedom of choice from some, of the right to labor itself, from others.

**(Continued from page 231)**

Most recent triumph for the antagonists of collective bargaining have been the catch-phrases "the sacred right to work" and "unfair balance." Realizing the futility of attacking the Wagner Act *per se,* these forces have singled out the closed shop, the machinery that is the heart of the whole concept of collective bargaining. They have declared that the closed shop "violates the sacred right of the worker to work." They assert that the closed shop slams the door in the face of the non-union worker who seeks employment in such a shop. But these forces deliberately ignore the fact that the non-union worker is free to seek employment elsewhere, and that there are thousands of non-union shops. They overlook the fact that the worker can join the union—in fact, is welcomed into the union—and they imply that union membership is restricted to a privileged few. They imply also that the employees of a closed shop dictate the terms of employment to the employer. This is their notion of "an unfair balance on the side of the employees". Nothing could be further from the truth. As a matter of fact, neither side dictates to the other. As the term " collective bargaining" implies both employer and employees agree upon the terms of employment.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If there is any unfair balance of power, it most certainly lies on the side of the employer, unions and closed shops notwithstanding.

This erroneous assumption can be seen by examining the definition of the closed shop and the conditions under which it can legally operate. A closed shop is one in which only union members may be hired, and employees must remain members of the union in order to maintain their employment. Furthermore, a closed shop contract is entered into voluntarily by the employer and the union. It can exist only where there is an agreement between labor and management. The employer sits down at a table with the union representative of the employees, and after careful deliberation, must himself decide that he is willing to grant his employees a closed shop and abide by the rules of the contract. *Unless the employer is agreeable to the idea there can be no closed shop.*

## WAGNER ACT

Prior to the Wagner Act, even a minority of union men in a shop could win a closed shop contract. With the passage of the Wagner Act, however, only a majority of union men could legally gain a closed-shop agreement. The Act provides further that the employees do not have to join a union which is not of their own choice. Section 7 says in part:

"Employees shall have the right of self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection."

In Section 8(3), the employer is prevented from denying these rights:

"It shall be an unfair labor practice for an employer . . . by discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization . . ."

This would have automatically sealed the fate of the closed shop, since the employer who enters into such a contract is compelled, according to the contract's terms, to require that the employees join a specified union. However, a proviso attached to Section 8(3) states in part:

"Nothing in this Act . . . shall preclude an employer from making an agreement with a labor organization . . . to require as a condition of employment, membership therein, if such labor organization is the representative of the employees as provided in Section 9(a) in the appropriate collective bargaining unit, covered by such agreements when made."

And Section 9(a) says that representatives selected by a majority of employees shall be the exclusive representatives of all employees.

Does the closed shop justify its existence? Labor emphatically points out that if the closed shop were eliminated, labor would not only lose its power to bargain collectively but would in time fall back to where it stood before the Wagner Act was passed. Collective bargaining is the only means of assuring the worker a fair deal for himself when he seeks and gains em-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ployment. Without collective bargaining, the employee would be on his own. He would have to meet the employer face to face and work out terms of his employment. In some cases, the employer would be fair about it. In most cases, he would take advantage of the situation. Not as articulate as the employer, not as forceful, and realizing that his services are not indispensible, the employee cannot hope to meet the employer on equal terms. He, therefore, loses not only the initiative but also a great many points which he would have won through collective bargaining. In union there is strength, and this strength can be translated into terms of benefits to the workers.

## RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

The government has long realized that without unions, workers are helpless in modern industry and cannot protect their economic interest or their freedom. A Report of the Industrial Commission as far back as 1898 revealed that: "It is quite generally recognized that the growth of great aggregations of capital under the control of single groups of men . . . necessitates corresponding aggregations of working men with unions. . . . A single workman face to face with one of our great modern combinations is in a position of very great weakness."

The United States Supreme Court, in the Tri-City case decision given almost 30 years ago, declared that workers must have the right to organize in order to protect their interests. The late Chief Justice Taft said:

"They (the labor unions) were organized out of necessity of the situation. A single employee was helpless in dealing with an employer. He was dependent ordinarily, on his daily wage for the maintenance of himself and his family. If the employer refused to pay him wages that he thought fair, he was nevertheless unable to leave the employ and to resist arbitrary and unfair treatment. . . . Union was essential to give laborers opportunity to deal on equality with their employers."

Long before the Wagner Labor Relations Act was passed, a reactionary campaign was started to create a public impression that the Law is heavily over-balanced in favor of labor and against the employers. Actually, the law does not create an inequality but corrects inequalities which existed previously. *The New York Times* for October 26, 1938, carried a speech by Senator Wagner himself, in which he said, "In the sense that the Act acknowledges only the liberty of the workers to organize and bargain collectively it is as 'one-sided' as all rights and liberties are. The liberty to join a union is the employees' right, not the employer's. Industry has a right to organize, and that is its exclusive right, which it enjoys without interference from employees. No statute was required to acknowledge this right because it has never been challenged but the workers' right has been violently resisted and legislation was necessary to remedy this specific evil."

In a decision upholding the constitutionality of the Wagner Act, Chief Justice Hughes said:

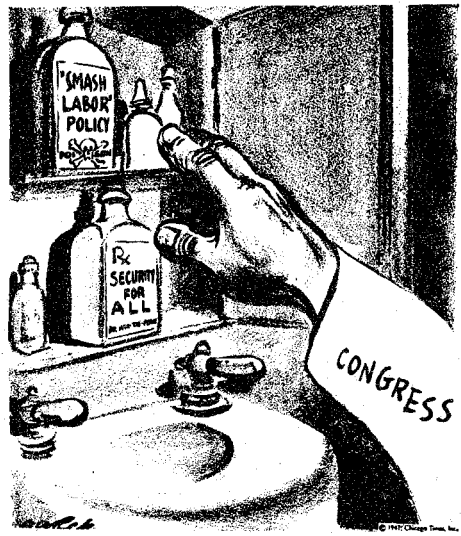
"In its present application, the statute goes no further than to safeguard

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the right of employees to self-organization and to select representatives of their own choosing for collective bargaining or other mutual protection, without restraint or coercion by their employers.

"That is a fundamental right. Employees have as clear a right to organize and select their representatives for lawful purposes as the respondent has to organize its business and select its officers and agents. . . ."

In the same decision, the Supreme Court held that "the Act does not interfere with the normal exercise of the right of the employer to select its employees or to discharge them. The employer may not, under cover of that right, intimidate or coerce his employees with respect to their self-organization and representation. . . ."




—Burck in *The Chicago Times*
"LOOK OUT"

In the same decision, the Supreme Court held that "the Act does not interfere with the normal exercise of the right of the employer to select its employees or to discharge them. The employer may not, under cover of that right, intimidate or coerce his employees with respect to their self-organization and representation. . . ."

Before the Wagner Act was passed, labor was protected by the National Industrial Recovery Act. When the N.I.R.A. was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, labor faced a crisis. In this critical period, two of labor's best-known spokesmen summed up the situation in radio broadcasts. On December 7, 1934, John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, followed the course of big business and its growing authority. Speaking about the post-war era of World War I, Lewis said:

"Control of wealth and credit thus became more highly concentrated. Our self-governing institutions together with destinies of all classes of our people came to be dominated by an immeasurably strengthened and more highly developed banking and financial system. Ruthless individualism and profits were its gods. It knew not humanity nor humanitarian considerations. Under this dictatorship, 4 per cent of the people acquired more than 80 per cent of the wealth of the country. On the other hand, 60 per cent of the industrial workers of the country in the prosperous period of 1926-1929 could not earn a wage above a bare, animal subsistence and could make no provision against sickness, disability, old age, or death.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Unionism was opposed. Workers were denied a fair participation in the output of industry. Inordinate industrial profits were capitalized and made the basis for speculation. Finally, in 1929, industry was permitted to collapse because this selfish group in power, who dictated industrial policies, would not give to wage earners and salaried workers a sufficiently large participation in industrial output in the form of increased payrolls, to enable them to purchase the goods. . . . Thus we were dramatically confronted in 1930 with the fundamental problems of today and of the future.

"Industrial workers are also convinced that they must have industrial freedom and sound measures of industrial equality. . . . The labor movement expects to reach an equality in bargaining power with capital, or in other words, to attain an economic strength at least equal to that of the stupid financial leadership which up to the present time has resisted the democratization of our basic industries and whatever the ordeal may be, the labor movement knows such a degree of unionization is both necessary and just."

## LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE THIRTIES

On June 7, 1935, a month before the Wagner Act was passed, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, spoke to the nation from Washington, D. C., through the facilities of the National Broadcasting Company. He said:

"As a result of the (Supreme) Court's decision, code-making is at an end. The Nation now reverts to the economic policies and practices which prevailed in 1930, 1931 and 1932, when more than thirteen million people were unemployed. Child labor was a common practice in those days. Sweat shops prevailed in the sweated industries. Employers were not restrained by any industrial code of fair competition. We now revert to the same status which made child labor and the existence of the sweat shop possible.

"The same employers who employed child labor and established the sweat shop own and control industry now. They have not changed. Furthermore, the effect of ruthless competition is the same whenever and wherever practiced. Child labor and the sweat shop are abolished only where they are forbidden by law. Employers who employed children and maintained sweat shops before the N.I.R.A. became effective will do so now when free from legislative restraint. The reports which are being received from labor representatives in the cities and industrial sections of the Nation show many employing interests are abandoning code provisions relating to wages, hours, and conditions of employment.

"Surely the experience of the past several years has taught the people of our great country that unrestrained competition and industrial demoralization with resultant low wages, long hours and sweat-shop conditions, are economically unsound and injurious to the civic and social life of the Nation. . . .

"It is the selfish employers, the minority among those engaged in the manufacture of goods and commodities, who violate every rule of business ethics. They can be classified properly as sappers who undermine sound

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

business structures. . . . It is necessary that they be compelled by law to conform to sound business principles, pay decent wages and maintain reasonable hours of employment. They will not do this willingly. They know only force and compulsion. They emphasize rugged individualism and personal liberty. They protest against any interference with their pursuit of unethical policies. They cry persecution when required by law to respect and observe industrial codes of fair competition. . . . Inasmuch as workers can no longer rely upon industrial codes of fair practice for economic advancement and protection they must now resort to and rely upon their own mobilized economic strength. They can only develop that strength to its maximum capacity and service through the creation of a strong organization. They can achieve this objective when accorded the free and unrestricted right to decide for themselves to join a union of their own choosing and to determine what form and what kind of a union they wish, as provided in the Wagner-Connery Disputes Act and to make that decision as free American citizens enjoying and exercising the right to organize and bargain collectively with their employers through representatives of their own choosing."

Most recent noteworthy view of unions towards the proposed abolishment of the closed shop is contained in a letter from Kenneth Douty, Georgia State Director of the Textile Workers' Union of America, an affiliate of the C.I.O., to Ralph T. Jones, associate editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. "You overlook entirely," wrote Douty, "the reason for the need for a closed shop in America. You know, of course, that it is peculiar to our labor relations climate, practically unknown in Europe. A cursory reading of our labor history reveals why that is so. In no other country has the fight for collective bargaining been so bloody and so bitter. That fight has not stopped today; although in some industries the unions are accepted as permanent institutions, that is not true of most of them. The closed shop is not aimed at keeping workers in line but at mitigating the effect of, or discouraging the pursual of an anti-union course by an employer. With a closed shop, an employer's incentive to attempt union-destroying activities is considerably lessened.

"This is the real basis of management opposition to the closed shop or any form of union security He wants his hunting season to be open 24 hours a day, 12 months a year; and he still has a prodigious appetite for the sport.

"Until collective bargaining is an accepted part of our industrial system, we have no recourse but to press for some sort of union security."

---

• **Desire, not intelligence, rules character. It is far harder to want the right thing than just know what it is.**

***—Swanson Newsette***

• **Education, whether of black man or white man, that gives one physical courage to stand up in front of a cannon and fails to give one moral courage to stand up in defense of right and justice, is a failure.**

***—Booker T. Washington***

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Partisanship vs. Government

THE Eightieth Congress was slow getting under way; in its first month, Republican weakness and friction were apparent to all. After the Senate had temporarily disposed of a Democratic hot potato, the Bilbo controversy (see *Forum*, February, 1947), it began a prolonged discussion of special committees vs. standing committees, in which partly lines once again were split. Led by Robert Taft, the Republicans upheld Senate Resolutions 20 and 46;[1] Taft was not strong enough, however, to suppress opposition from such Republicans as Senator Tobey of New Hampshire.[2]

The question of special committees came up as the first order of business under general orders, when Senator Wherry of Nebraska offered Senate Resolution 20, to create a "special committee to study the problems of small business." (The net effect of this resolution, according to Senator Tobey, would be the ousting of Republican Senator Wilson of Iowa as chairman of the former Committee on Small Business, and his replacement by Wherry.) The second order of business was Resolution 46, offered by Senator Brewster of Maine, "continuing the authority for the investigation of the National Defense Program." (This would aid Senator Brewster and provide him with a committee chairmanship.)

As Senator Tobey pointed out in the speech quoted below, both resolutions had by-passed the standing committees that would normally have considered them. And both, according to their opponents, violated the "spirit" of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. Although this act featured frequently in the debate, in its final form it had not contained the Senate-approved "express legislative condemnation of special committees." (The clause had been dropped in the House.)

Democrats had feared that the War Investigating Committee, led by Republican Brewster, would be more hostile to the Democratic conduct of the war than the Committee on Armed Services (standing) led by Republican Senator Gurney of South Dakota.

In spite of strong Democratic (some Republican) opposition, Senate Resolution 46, as amended by Mr. Brewster, was passed on January 22, (49 to 43) and Senate Resolution 20 passed on January 23 (46 to 42).

Excerpts from the final debate on Senate Resolution 20 follow:[3]

1 Both Resolutions were reported out of the Committee on Rules and Administration on January 10.

2 Other Republicans opposed were Senators Aiken of Vermont, Morse of Oregon, Cooper of Kentucky.

3 *The Congressional Record*, Senate, Vol. 9 No. 17, pp. 605, ff.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## VOTE TRADING IN THE SENATE

Mr. Johnson of Colorado. I suggest the absence of a quorum. The Senator from New Hampshire is going to say something quite worth while, and we should have a greater attendance of Senators on the floor when he speaks.

Mr. Tobey. Mr. President, as I turn and look around on this side I see Republican Senators present to the number of five or so. There are those few of the faithful. What I shall have to say might be useful; it might be stimulating to the minds of absent Senators; they might be interested; so let the quorum call proceed.

The Presiding Officer. Eighty-nine Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. Tobey. Mr. President, I shall speak very frankly this afternoon, using language to convey thought and not to conceal it.

There is sometimes, and too often, a wide and deep abyss between partisanship and government. The motivations behind partisanship may at times be different from the motivations behind the struggle for good government. As a Senate we are engaged in transacting Government business. One or both of the parties, or a group in one party or another in the Senate, may at times be serving their own partisan purposes, in doing something for the sake of a partisan group, contrary to the requirements of good government.

The country has just witnessed an example of the difference between votes in the interests of clean government and votes to carry out the program of a special group.

In considering this question it is not so important whether a group which succeeds in serving its partisan purposes of government, succeeds by a big majority vote, or just barely noses through by one vote, and by refusing to provide a pair for a Member of the Senate, who has been called away by serious illness in his family.

In this instance it was so clear that the program before the Senate was in the service of a special group, rather than of the country as a whole, that utmost pressure and effort could get them victory by only a mere hair's breadth.

Today the country is faced with the spectacle of a second attempt to break down the efficiency statute.

The Eightieth Congress opened for the conduct of public affairs under bright auspices. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 had finally gone into effect. It provided Congress with the mechanics for efficiency. It gave us, to use the language of my colleague [Mr. Bridges], the opportunity to operate on a streamlined basis. We opened for business with full power to transact the public business competently.

Our Eightieth Congress has so far been subjected to incompetent operations. This is so serious that I feel it my duty to present in detail the cumulative evidence of the incompetent administration of important business to date.

Competence in the conduct of Government business is the least that the public is entitled to get from us. It makes no difference whether a Government body is run on democratic principles, or is run by a boss. Both ways, the minimum required is competence. It is well known that even some of the big city bosses present in their defense, the claim that they

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government for their cities. Even foreign dictators have resorted to this defense to show that at least they do something for the people they rule. So it was that Mussolini was widely advertised as the man who made trains run on time. But in our Senate, in the last 3 weeks, our leaders have been running the train off the rails.

Inefficiency in the Senate in the Eightieth Congress, has not been due to any lack of ability in the leaders of the party which controls the Senate at the present time. On the contrary, the ability of the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft] is such that he is renowned everywhere for talent, industry and intelligence. The same may be said of others, who are taking part in conducting affairs on the majority side at the present time—the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. Vandenberg] and the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. White].

In others, who have participated in the making of plans and the taking of action on the particular subject matter to which I shall refer, one will find also outstanding ability —for example, the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. Brooks], the junior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Wherry], and the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. Brewster]. The country is getting, from the leadership of the majority party in the Senate, ability that is as good as the country can expect.

The causes of the incompetence, as a careful perusal of the record will reveal to any reader, are due to something else. A group which starts on the wrong road will blunder and blunder and blunder.

That I shall develop in the course of this statement.

which was made the No. 1 business of the Senate by the leaders of the majority in the Senate. Turn to the calendar of business of the United States Senate, which is on the desk of every Member of this body. What do we find as the first order of business under general orders? We find that the first order of business is the consideration by the Senate of Senate Resolution 20, a resolution offered by the junior Senator from Nebraska to create a new special committee having to do with small business.

What did we find as the second order of business? It was the consideration by the Senate of Senate Resolution 46, the resolution offered by the junior Senator from Maine for the continuation of the War Investigating Committee.

## TRADITIONAL METHOD

There is a certain order of business in handling resolutions in the Senate. It is long established. The steps which are involved are the introduction of a resolution, the referring of that resolution to the appropriate committee, the careful consideration by committees of the issues involved, and the holding, if necessary, of hearings on those issues, the vote of the committees on those resolutions, the filing of a report to the Senate which conveys to the Senate adequately the reason for the report of the committees, and deliberations on the floor of the Senate for the final voting on those resolutions.

That is the established way of doing business on such matters in the Senate.

Unquestionably, improved methods of doing business can be developed and should then be used. But it is a very different thing to throw overboard the established methods of di

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing business in order to substitute a mere slap-dash method—one which has not been carefully thought through and one which is bound to result in confusion, delay, inefficiency and waste.

That is exactly what took place in connection with the two resolutions which the Senate has been asked to consider as its first order of business.

In outlining the established steps in the handling of business on such matters, methods which have been tried for decades and have been found the best way of doing such legislative business, I do not mean to say that the members of the majority party may not hold their own caucuses for the purpose of considering what they should do in connection with legislative questions. But this is additional to the appropriate action by the Senate and the Senate committees. When we legislate by passing a resolution or a bill and when our committees consider and report bills or resolutions to the Senate, that is done not in the name of the majority party of the moment, but in the name of the entire committee and the entire Senate made up of both parties.

Now let us see how the No. 1 and No. 2 businesses which have been placed before the Senate have been handled.

I am going to take, by way of example, five of the inefficiencies which have marked our course this month.

I want to repeat that I am discussing the question, not of efficiency in a partisan operation, but efficiency in the conduct of the affairs of the Senate.

**FIRST MISSTEP**

The first misstep was the deliberate bypassing of the standing committees to which should have been referred [illegible] the resolutions for the creation or continuation of the special committees under Senate Resolution 20 and Senate Resolution 46. The resolutions were sent directly, not to the committees which have jurisdiction over the subject matter of the proposed investigation, but to the Committee on Rules and Administration. Even the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. Brewster] acknowledged on the floor of the Senate in the debate on January 15, that another committee than the one to which his resolution was sent had the primary jurisdiction.

I should like to read a few words from the discussion on January 13 on the floor of the Senate between the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden] and the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft].

The senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden] said:

**I think I can show the Senate how the spirit of the Reorganization Act has been violated in this instance. Under the Rules of the Senate as they now exist, the creation of a special committee requires the submission of a resolution and the reference of the resolution to the committee of the Senate having jurisdiction of the subject matter. * * * In this instance, when the Brewster resolution and the Wherry resolution were submitted they should have been referred to the proper standing committees having jurisdiction over the subject matters.**

The senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft], in the course of his ensuing remarks, said:

**If the Senator wants to say that we are violating the rules of the Senate, that is another question; and I am willing, when the resolution comes up, to postpone it so that the situation may be straightened out in that respect.**

We all know that since there was a violation, not only of the estab-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the requirements of efficiency in the conduct of Senate business, the restoration to efficiency which the senior Senator from Ohio offered to make, should then have been made. We all know that this was not done, but that instead the supporters of Senate Resolution 46 wanted no such interference with their group purposes.

On the floor of the Senate on January 22, the senior Senator from Ohio recognized that there had been inefficiency in this first piece of business to come before the Eightieth Congress. He gave notice that he intended to introduce a resolution which would require that the efficient method of doing business should be followed in the future. That method has been followed for so many years, that no resolution was needed to protect the efficient conduct of business in the Senate from those partisans who arranged in advance to bypass the proper standing committees, and to proceed by inefficient and wasteful methods.

As I read the statement and the proposed resolution of the senior Senator from Ohio, it is in the nature of putting the Senate on notice for the future that no Senator should try to induce the senior Senator from Ohio to permit the incompetence, the inefficiency and the mismanagement which were part of the program of the persons seeking to assure for themselves the creation of special committees, before the Senate in the Eightieth Congress even had a chance to look around and to realize what was being attempted.

The second example of inefficiency introduced into the affairs of the Senate in connection with Senate Resolution 46 and Senate Resolution 20 is related to the first. It has been ness in the Senate that, when a resolution for the creation or continuation of a special investigating committee is to come before the Senate for consideration, it shall first receive the views and recommendations of the standing committee which has jurisdiction over the subject matter. As the senior Senator from Ohio said on January 13:

**I think that any standing committee has a right to object to the creation of a special committee which will take jurisdiction from the standing committee.**

Mr. Tydings. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Tobey. I yield.

Mr. Tydings. I should like to point out to the able Senator from New Hampshire that ordinarily if a resolution in the exact language of the resolution of the Senator from Nebraska were submitted for appropriate reference, it would be referred by the Chair to a standing committee.

Mr. Tobey. The Senator from Maryland is correct.

Mr. Tydings. There is no doubt that it would go to a standing committee. Therefore, the resolution now before the Senate is only a subterfuge to take away from the Chair his right of correct reference. No other correct interpretation can be placed on the matter.

Mr. Tobey. I so agree.

Mr. President, the committee which has jurisdiction of the subject matter knows a great deal more about it than does any other committee, and in particular it knows more about it than does the Committee on Rules and Administration, and therefore the committee which has jurisdiction is in a far better position to advise the Senate on the proper action which it should take with re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is another and ever more potent reason for doing business in the long-established, efficient way. That relates to the subject of legislation.

Between investigation and legislation, there should be the least possible gap. Yet, when a special committee undertakes an investigation, there is a gap between its work and the subsequent work that will have to be done by the standing committee for the purpose of legislation. The special committee does not have the power to hold hearings on proposed or needed legislation, and, as the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. Ferguson] said in the course of the debate on January 15, special committees are for that very reason weak.

When the Legislative Reorganization Act was under consideration in the Senate in June, 1946, the Senator from Maine [Mr. White] said:

**I wished to refer to the question of special committees and the proper functions of our standing legislative committees. I think I am stating the fact accurately when I say that, in the case of most of our special committees, they have no legislative authority whatsoever, but are investigatory in character and in some instances are permitted to make recommendations, and that is all. That does not relieve the standing committees of the Senate of the obligation of study and of reaching conclusions. In a sense, it involves a duplication of effort.**

In view of this circumstance, a standing committee which will have to legislate on the subject matter of the proposed investigation should consider how wide the gap is likely to be between the special committee's work and the standing committee's subsequent work, and whether the labor of bridging this gap will be great or small.

This fact is one which the Senate must have before it, in order to judge whether a special committee should be created or continued. Even if it were true, as argued by the supporters of Senate Resolution 20 and Senate Resolution 46, that there were any advantages in permitting a special committee rather than a standing committee to investigate certain subjects under Senate Resolution 20 and Senate Resolution 46, it was essential that the Senate should be able to ascertain, from the best qualified sources, whether there were any offsetting disadvantages, and the nature and seriousness of those offsetting disadvantages. Only the standing committee could really advise the Senate adequately on this point. Certainly the Committee on Rules has no qualification, for that purpose, at all comparable with the qualification of the standing committees having jurisdiction over the subject matter of the proposed investigations.

## VOTE TRADING

The junior Senator from Maine [Mr. Brewster] stated on the floor of the Senate that he had dealt with the Committee on Armed Services. But most of his dealing, as became clear in the course of the debate, was only with the Republican members of that committee, and was obviously for purposes of making concessions, in order to get his resolution through the Senate, rather than for the purpose of getting the Committee on Armed Services to tell the Senate all the considerations which it should have in mind in its deliberations on Senate Resolution 46. The junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] amply developed this point in the course of the debate, with a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clarity that made his statement wholly unanswerable.

Mr. Hatch. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Tobey. I yield.

Mr. Hatch. The Senator from New Hampshire has already passed the point about which I wished to inquire. He was referring to the exchange between the Senator from Maine [Mr. Brewster] and the Committee on Armed Services. Do I correctly understand that the Senator from New Hampshire is saying that a trade was made, a surrender of jurisdiction by the special committee, in order to obtain votes to continue it?

Mr. Tobey. The Senator from New Mexico puts the matter rather baldly, but I think it is rather near a bull's-eye.

When, in the course of this negotiating process, part of the jurisdiction which the supporters of Senate Resolution 46 wanted to give to their special committee had to be thrown overboard, and only part was left in their hands, there was still the question of getting the views of the best qualified standing committee with respect to the subject matter that was still retained under Senate Resolution 46. To be sure the supporters of that resolution were very much in doubt whether they could get that resolution through the Senate, as indicated by the refusal to arrange a pair for a Member of the Senate who had been called away by illness in his family. At that stage, the supporters of the resolution were in a position where they could not negotiate with the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department, because that would involve a surrender by the supporters of Senate Resolution 46 of the remainder of the jurisdiction which they sought to obtain for themselves.

In any event, negotiation for position, trading for jurisdictional power, bargaining for a piece of the jurisdiction which by statute has been assigned to a standing committee, is not the same thing as careful consideration by that committee of the merits and demerits of a resolution to assign jurisdiction to some special committee. The Senate is entitled to a careful report, from the standing committee, on the merits and demerits of the proposal for creation of a special committee. Instead, we witnessed simply a bargaining in the corridors and committee rooms and senatorial offices, and even that bargaining was conducted simply between majority party members of a special committee and majority party members of a standing committee. That does not permit of the type of consideration and reporting which one can expect to get from a committee, rather than from a partisan section of a committee that is not meeting in any respect as part of the Senate or as a Senate committee organization.

Mr. Tydings. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Tobey. I yield.

Mr. Tydings. Does the Senator from New Hampshire prefer not to be interrupted by other Senators?

Mr. Tobey. I wish to be fair to those who also wish to speak, and my remarks will consume some time. However, when I conclude, if the distinguished Senator from Maryland cares to ask questions, I shall be glad to have him do so.

Mr. Tydings. Then I shall not interfere with the very cogent address of the Senator from New Hampshire, except to say, while I

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

am on my feet—and what I shall now state is not what I wished to say when I rose in the first place—that in my opinion the overwhelming logic of his entire argument is absolutely devastating to anyone who would support a special committee, in the face of the facts which the Senator from New Hampshire has so well developed.

Mr. Tobey. I thank the Senator.

Mr. Baldwin. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. Tobey. I yield.

**BREWSTER DEFENDED**

Mr. Baldwin. I thank the Senator.

I simply wish to rise to make a correction in regard to a statement of fact about which I think my brother Senators are inaccurate, though I certainly do not infer intentionally so. The inference has been drawn that there was an arrangement between the Senator from Maine [Mr. Brewster] and the Republican members of the Armed Services Committee. I am willing to say that at the first conference held between some members of the Armed Services Committee and the Senator from Maine, the chief purpose of the Republican members of the committee was to point out to the Senator from Maine that, as members of that committee, we did not look kindly upon an encroachment upon our power and jurisdiction, and we wished to know what limitations he was willing to place upon the purport and breadth of his investigation, if the Special Committee To Investigate the National Defense Program were continued.

As a result of that conference, another conference was held, at which the Senator from Maine likewise was present, as were practically all the Republican members, and at least several of the Democratic members, of the Armed Services Committee. At that time the matter was most thoroughly and completely discussed, and an effort was made to arrive at some sort of limitation on the scope and breadth of the investigation which would be conducted by the Special Committee To Investigate the National Defense Program. The matter was discussed openly, fairly and fully, with both Democratic and Republican members of the Armed Services Committee present, in an effort to arrive at a conclusion limiting the scope of the investigation.

As a member of the committee, Mr. President—and other than the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], I believe I am the only Republican member of the committee present in the Senate Chamber at this time—I have felt constrained to make this statement. It seems to me that the Committee on Armed Forces needs no defense, but I have wished to make this explanation in behalf of the committee, in order to detail what actually happened, according to the best of my recollection.

I thank the Senator from New Hampshire for yielding to me.

Mr. Tobey. I thank the Senator for his contribution.

The President pro tempore. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Senate will now proceed under the unanimous-consent agreement, which divides the time from now to 5 o'clock between the proponents and opponents of the pending resolution. The time for the proponents is under the control of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Wherry], and for the opponents under the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley]. Does the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senator from Kentucky yield time to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. Barkley. I yield time to the Senator from New Hampshire. How much time does he desire?

Mr. Tobey. I should hesitate to say, not knowing what interruptions there will be, but I should like to make my address in continuity, in sequence.

Mr. Barkley. I yield the Senator 30 minutes.

Mr. Tobey. "The quality of mercy is not strained," I may say to the Senator.

Mr. Tobey. Mr. President, the third example which I shall present of the cutting of corners and resulting inefficiency relates to the unavoidable requirement that committees of the Senate shall do their work thoroughly. This was true even before the passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

The Legislative Reorganization Act sought to give greater opportunity for thorough work by the committees, which means thorough work by the Senators who serve on committees. The Reorganization Act provides that, with a very few exceptions, Senators should serve on only two standing committees.

The Committee on Rules and Administration is such a committee. Ten of its 13 members have only two committee assignments and the other three have three committee assignments each. So on this committee, under the terms of the Reorganization Act, the members had been so limited in their number of committee assignments that they would be sure to have time to consider carefully every important matter coming before that committee.

Yet, on the important question of two resolutions, each of which has a serious bearing on the operation of business in the Senate, on the work of other standing committees; and on the reform statute of 1946, the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration did the very opposite of that which the Senate has a right to expect from every one of its committees.

The committee held no hearings. It had no knowledge of the views held by the standing committees in whose jurisdiction belongs the subject matter of the proposed special committee investigations. In fact, the Committee on Rules had no knowledge of whether the standing committees had considered the subject and had as yet arrived at any view on the subject.

The Committee on Rules and Administration gave no notice to the public that it was about to consider those resolutions and dispose of them immediately. No one of the large number of Members of Congress, and of the large number of experts who have made thorough studies of the subject of committee work in Congress, was called on to present views or was given an opportunity to indicate whether he would want to present views to the Committee on Rules.

What happened in the Committee on Rules was stated by the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden] on the floor of the Senate on the following day, January 10, 1947, and no member of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration has challenged the accuracy of what he then said. He said that first, that committee in its meeting of January 9 disposed of considerable other business, I quote from his statement to the Senate:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Then, toward the close of the meeting, much to the surprise of some of us, action was taken on the two resolutions which have been reported by the Senator from Illinois to create special committees of the Senate. * * * Those of us who knew nothing about the resolutions and did not expect them to come up at the committee meeting requested they go over for a day or two—

A reasonable request—

so that we might give consideration to the major problem of whether or not the Senate should at this time attempt to wreck the system of jurisdiction that had been imposed upon its various standing committees.

However, our request was very courteously but very firmly denied, and the majority of the committee decided to report the two resolutions immediately.

When a Senate committee refuses the request of the members of its own committee for time to consider a matter which they had not expected to come before the committee and refuses to do its job of thoroughly considering the merits of a resolution referred to it, there must be some especially and exigent reason for such a refusal. The need for speedy action must be imperative, because such a request of members of the committee is denied.

In fact, such was the confusion and mismanagement into which the supporters of the two resolutions were thrown by their attempt to substitute rush for efficiency that the Committee on Rules had almost an entire week in which it could have considered Senate Resolution 46, prior to the time when its supporters at long last wanted to have it even considered on the floor of the Senate, and at least 2 weeks before the supporters of Senate Resolution 20 had it up for debate

Here is a lesson about cutting corners for partisan advantage. It introduces inefficiency, waste and delay. We have proof positive in this instance that primrose paths are bad, not only for the conduct of Senate business, but also for those who would draw the Senate down such a path; the example that they have provided shows that they will trip themselves up.

They tried to rush Senate Resolution 46. They were stopped in their tracks by a revolt in their own party, a revolt against the attempt to steamroller one of the standing committees of the Senate. As a result, they conducted in the corridors and cloakrooms a substitute for business in committee and on the floor of the Senate. Meantime, they, in effect, were saying to the Senate, "Don't rush any consideration of our resolutions; we, the authors of these resolutions, are not ready; the Rules Committee was all wrong in thinking it had no time to do its duty; the Rules Committee could have taken plenty of time; they could have done a good job rather than no job at all."

Negotiations in corridors and cloakrooms and elsewhere is permissible as an addition to the conduct of proper Senate committee business but not as a substitute.

## LOLLIPOPS LATER

I now present another example of the confusion, the inefficiency, and the explanations which do not explain, introduced into the proceedings of the Senate by the roundabout devices employed to achieve the undisclosed purposes for which the resolutions to create these special committees were introduced. I refer to the effect of all such inefficiency on the leadership of the Senate. They cannot admit that what is really involved is the creation of chairmanships for the faithful, and the indication to those who are not first in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

line that there may be more lollipops for others later. The consequence not alone on our present leadership, but on any leadership, is bound to be unfair to it, costly to its prestige as well as to the prestige of the Senate as a whole, and costly to the welfare of the country.

We should not conduct our deliberations and the business of the Senate on the basis of rewards to subleaders and to those whom it may be useful to draw into the fold of subleaders. We should proceed on the basis of logic and reasoning. When it comes to logic and reasoning, I yield to no man in my respect for the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft], who has been acclaimed by many as the ablest intellect, not alone in the present Senate, but in this Chamber for many years past. I yield to no man in my admiration for the intellectual capacity of others of the leadership in this Senate. Yet they have been placed in the position, by some of the faithful, of defending an indefensible blow at the efficiency statute, struck by indefensible inefficiencies in the procedures used for that purpose. In short, they are in an indefensible position.

Mr. Hatch. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The Presiding Officer. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. Tobey. I should be delighted to yield, but my time is limited, and I am under pressure.

**SPIRIT OF LAW**

Mr. Hatch. I should like to make a brief observation, which I have wanted to make many times during the debate. There has been a great deal of criticism of Senators who speak of the "spirit of the law" as though there was no such thing as the spirit of the law. I desire to say to the Senator from New Hampshire that when he speaks of the spirit of the law he is standing upon solid ground and is supported by rulings which have been recognized by the courts and the leading jurists of this country and of all other English-speaking countries since the sixteenth century.

Mr. Tobey. Let me say to the distinguished Senator from New Mexico, "the letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive."

Mr. Hatch. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield further, I may say that it has been almost the unanimous decision of the courts of last resort that if there is a conflict between the spirit and the letter of a law, the spirit of the law will prevail. The Senator need not apologize to anybody for the position which he takes.

Mr. Tobey. One impossible task has not yet been essayed by any of the Senate leaders, with the exception of the author of Senate Resolution 20. That resolution calls for the termination of the existing Small Business Committee and the establishment of a new small-business committee. Get that! According to the statements of the junior Senator from Nebraska in the Senate on January 13, 1947, when he was asked about this burial-and-birth procedure, the powers which his resolution would grant to the new special committee on small business are exactly the same as the powers of the existing special committee which he proposes to kill. Also, according to the answers given by the junior Senator from Nebraska, the committee he would create has exactly the same number of members as the committee his resolution would terminate.

REPRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Barkley. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Hampshire yield to me? I will yield him additional time.

Mr. Tobey. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. Barkley. In connection with the remark the Senator has just made, I wonder what the explanation is of the fact that Senate Resolution 46 continued the Committee To Investigate the National Defense Program as it was in the last session, which automatically made the Senator from Maine [Mr. Brewster] the chairman because of his rank on that committee, while the pending resolution, Senate Resolution 20, terminates the resolution under which the Small Business Committee was set up, and creates a new committee, which automatically eliminates the ranking Republican, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Wilson] from the chairmanship of that committee altogether? Can the Senator explain why that inconsistency exists between the two resolutions?

Mr. Tobey. Yes; I am coming to hat.

Mr. Barkley. Very well. I am sorry I interrupted the Senator.

Mr. Tobey. Mr. President, if the answers given by the junior Senator from Nebraska indicate the reason for terminating the existing special committee and creating a new special committee in its place, then the very same reasons are applicable in equal measure to the special Committee Investigating the National Defense. If the junior Senator from Nebraska is right in the unusual method he has proposed in his resolution, then the junior Senator from Maine was wrong in the kind of method that he proposed in his resolution. If the method used by the junior Senator from Nebraska was as necessary as he says it was, then the failure to use the same method in the resolution submitted by the junior Senator from Maine is bound to get his special committee and the Senate into a mix-up, a jam.

On the floor of the Senate, there was some evidence that the resolution submitted by the junior Senator from Nebraska had been prepared and rushed through with such speed that not even the present chairman of the existing special committee dealing with small business had been given an opportunity to acquaint himself adequately with the terms of that resolution. I submit that that is not the efficient way of carrying on legislative business.

## SMALL BUSINESS

The laudable purpose of aiding small business has been put forward as a screen behind which to carry out the less popular purpose of undermining the reforms of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

I do not raise the question that persons whose statements confuse the issue in this way are aware that they are in fact promoting confusion, and have not thought the problem through with thoroughness.

Few, if any, people will disagree about the desirability of having an agency in the Senate that is concerned with the problems of small business and looking out for the interests of small business. Obviously, the best way to accomplish that result is by a permanent committee or subcommittee. Obviously, the thing to do is to have a subcommittee responsible for that work—responsible thoroughly, continuously and constantly. If that is done, small business will not have to come to the Senate, hat in hand, every few months and have to ask for the cre-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ation or continuance of a small business committee.

Let me say that the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has already acted. On January 22, 1947, our committee, a standing committee, approved the formation of a subcommittee to deal with problems of small business, and I appointed a subcommittee of five. Three of those five Senators are now members of the existing special committee on small business. So, a majority of the subcommittee of this standing committee, appointed, pursuant to the Legislative Reorganization Act and the jurisdiction it confers on the standing Committee on Banking and Currency, to deal with the problems of small business, are men who have been and are members of the present special committee on small business.

The real reason for now trying to create a special committee on this subject through Senate Resolution 20 has not yet been stated in the course of the debate. It is fair to ask what lies behind this strange way of doing business. It is not clear from the explanation given by the junior Senator from Nebraska. He talked about the necessity of doing in this manner what he is trying to the representation on the committee accomplish, because of the fact that must be changed.

But why is not the same thing true of the War Investigating Committee, where the resolution of the junior Senator from Maine does not propose to kill the existing committee and create a new one, but proposes to continue the existing committee.

This whole method of trying to pass a resolution with respect to small business has been wrapped around in mystery by the very terms of Senate Resolution 20, the resolution offered by the junior Senator from Nebraska. If there is a clear reason for trying to do business that way, it should be stated clearly on the floor of the Senate. When the senior Senator from New Mexico, in the course of the debate in the Senate on January 13, 1947, asked the senior Senator from Montana, outgoing chairman of the Small Business Committee, about this curious way of doing business through Senate Resolution 20, the junior Senator from Nebraska obviously thought that the senior Senator from Montana, despite his long service as chairman of the committee, might not be able to answer the question. No one can give the real answer, without giving the show away. The junior Senator from Nebraska interrupted and said that he wanted to explain what it was all about. But he failed to explain it.

I challenge any Senator in this Chamber to show any word, any phrase, any sentence, any paragraph, any column, or any page in the *Congressional Record* in which the reason for this manner of doing legislative business, as proposed in Senate Resolution 20, is stated clearly, plainly, directly, and forthrightly.

The members of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration considered Senate Resolution 20, and a majority of them voted to report it favorably to the Senate. But they have given us no explanation in any report or in any statement on the Floor of the Senate for the curious method of conducting legislative business, arranged like a jigsaw puzzle, in Senate Resolution 20. Perhaps the present chairman of that committee or some other member who voted for Senate Resolution 20 will solve for us the legislative puzzle which has been deposited in our midst by Senate Resolution 20, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which no man has yet told us that he deems himself capable of solving.

I ask once more for the reason for subjecting the Senate and its committees in the early days of this Congress to irregular and wasteful procedures in the conduct of Senate business with reference to the two resolutions. Surely we are entitled to some clear explanations on this head. Lacking that, let me give the real motivation behind it all, and that was to provide a committee chairmanship for the Senator from Maine and the Senator from Nebraska. That, Mr. President, is reducing it to the lowest terms. But it is not good enough. The price is too high.

The Presiding Officer. The time of the Senator from New Hampshire has expired. The Chair does not see the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley] in the Chamber.

Mr. Lucas. Mr. President, I am authorized to yield an additional 10 minutes to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. Tobey. Only yesterday the distinguished senior Senator from Ohio told me that last November those Senators came before the steering committee and pleaded the cause of special committees, before the Eightieth Congress was born.

Mr. Wherry. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Tobey. Not until I am through. I ask, why would they have come here and pleaded for the committees to be continued had they not known in their hearts that the terms and spirit of the Reorganization Act prohibited it? Surely we are entitled to some clear explanation under this head.

Mr. Wherry. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Tobey. When the Senator had the floor I courteously asked him to yield and he declined. I shall heap coals of fire on his head. I yield to him, provided he uses his own time.

Mr. Wherry. Very well. I will resume my seat.

Mr. Tobey. It makes a difference. The Senator is not a good trader.

In the case of Senate Resolution 20, the chairmanship is far removed from the aspirant to that office. He has to do more than get the Senate to vote for a special committee. He has to oust the present ranking Republican member of the present Small Business Committee from access to the chairmanship to which he would succeed if not ousted. So the present ranking Republican is steamrollered out of his position, to make room for the Senator whom the leaders favor.

The Senator who is to be steamrollered by Senate Resolution 20 introduced his own resolutions, to offset the threat to his position. But his resolutions have been filed away by the leadership in innocuous desuetude and remain, forgotten and unreported, while Senate Resolution 20 was hurried to the Senate from the Rules Committee so fast that no one had a chance to examine it in committee. Such procedure does not add to the prestige of the Senate or of the majority party.

## PARTY REGULARITY

One sometimes hears talk of party regularity. Regularity for what? To confer some benefit on the party in majority power? What benefit accrues to my party now in control of the Senate, from the creation of these special committees? The party will control all investigations, whether they are assigned to special committees or conducted by standing committees; the Republican party has a majority in all the committees,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

standing, and special—if any special committees be created. So the party gains nothing from the creation or continuation of special committees.

I submit an amendment to Senate Resolution 20, in the nature of a substitute for it, and I will ask the clerk at the conclusion of my remarks to read my amendment.

## TOBEY AMENDMENT

Two principal differences between Senate Resolution 20, offered by the junior Senator from Nebraska, and my substitute deserve mention.

My substitute would have the subject of inquiry of small business remain in the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, where the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 placed jurisdiction over such subject matter. The junior Senator from Nebraska proposes the creation of a new special committee.

The second difference requires some discussion. The resolution offered by the junior Senator from Nebraska would give his new committee $50,000. My substitute amendment does not call for any appropriation at all at the present moment.

There are two serious objections to the $50,000 provision in the resolution submitted by the junior Senator from Nebraska. I speak on these points, out of the experience which I had as the ranking Republican member on the standing Committee on Audit and Control of the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. My fellow Republicans on that committee were the junior Senator from Illinois and the junior Senator from Nebraska. I am troubled that they should have taken the action they did with respect to Senate Resolution 20, one as its proposer and the other as the chairman of the Rules Committee, in approving the $50,000 request in the face of the ample experience we three received on the Audit and Control Committee.

Under the old, scandalous practice money was granted to investigating committees as the result of a deal, or a trade consummated in the cloakroom. That method of doing business made for patronage, not for economy or efficiency.

## INVESTIGATIONS

The second reason for my omission, in my substitute proposal, of any request for funds at this moment, and for my criticism of the request of the junior Senator from Nebraska for $50,000, arises out of a well-known fact about investigations. Those investigations which have continued for some years have collected a large body of data and documents, not yet introduced in hearings. For example, the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. Brewster] told us that his committee has 90 per cent of its data. We have learned that at such a stage, it is practicable to analyze and put those documents in their logical order, and publish them without the necessity of formal hearings. Persons affected by the documents which are thus to be published are given full opportunity to offer any supplementary data they deem appropriate, and this also is included in the volumes published by the investigating committee. In this manner, the total cost to the Senate is reduced to $5,000 or less, as against the $50,000 or ultimate expenditure of $100,000 necessitated by public hearings of the ordinary kind and by trips or junkets for any hearings conducted outside of Washington. For the spread or difference in expenditure of public funds, of anywhere from $45,000 to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$95,000, the public gets no gain; only a committee chairman or others get the publicity which helps them personally, and the patronage involved in keeping people on the pay roll of the investigating committee.

Why did not the junior Senator from Nebraska ask for $5,000 at this time? If his committee is created, and needs more money, they can get it. I want to see our investigations conducted effectively and thoroughly, and provided with all the funds they need for that purpose, but not to help someone's publicity and patronage needs.

The President pro tempore. The Senator from Nebraska yields 10 minutes to the Senator from Illinois. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. Brooks. I wish to assume my full share of responsibility in both instances. I was on the committee that helped draft the Reorganization Act, and I am a member of the Republican steering committee. I was glad to be recorded as being in favor of continuation of the Small Business Committee. That committee was brought into being as a result of the war. It was established as a result of the necessities of war channeling into big business the greatest opportunity to control the industry of this Nation that has ever occurred within my entire lifetime.

## REPUBLICAN REPUTATION

When I hear the Democrats on the other side, or Republicans on this side, complaining because Republicans wish to continue the Small Business Committee, I desire to remind every Member of the Senate that ever since 1932 I have heard the deluge of propaganda that came like the rain, year in and year out, charging that the Republican party represented only big business. We were charged constantly with representing the "upper 10 per cent." There followed in the press, on the platform, on the radio—everywhere—that the Republican party represented the "upper 10 per cent," the "well and entrenched minority," "the earls of privilege," "the barons of finance," the "60 families" the "200 corporations." Now, when the Republican party, and I as a member of the steering committee, taking my share of the responsibility, wish to continue the fine activity of the Small Business Committee, it is amazing to see those on the other side solidly desiring to stop us from representing and giving small business its ample opportunity to have a forum where it and the myriad businessmen who conduct it may come to present their cause.

Why should there be a special committee for that purpose? I would state this as my reason—that during the war it was the big corporations that the Government supported. The Government gave to big corporations any number of millions of dollars to increase their plants. The Government constructed their buildings; it supplied their machinery; everything was channeled through the big corporations of the country to speed war production. Who got hurt? It was the little corporation, the small business, bound up in edicts, and directives, and regulations, and restrictions, and restraints, and rationings. Through the channeling of available material small business was tangled and strangled. Then the small corporations, the small businesses of the Nation, said, "Give us a voice. Give us a forum where we may be heard."

It ill befits the party which has condemned the Republican party all

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these years for representing what they call property rights instead of small business, now in effect to say, "No, we do not want to let you Republicans go forward with this work and represent little business, to erect a forum where the little businessmen of America may present their case."

Mr. Barkley. It is interesting to observe the reason given by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Brooks] for his enthusiasm for the continuance of this committee—not the continuance of the committee by the way, but for the creation of a new committee.

I do not wish to indulge in any partisan references, but constantly the Senator from Illinois and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft], who seems to be entering a beauty contest of some kind, judging from the reports in the newspapers the last day or two, as between Republican pulchritude and Democratic lack of it, have constantly intimated that there is something ulterior in our attitude on this side of the aisle in regard to these resolutions. I do not think it can be correctly stated that the party which had the majority in the Senate for so long, and which initiated and inaugurated all these committees and all these investigations, the result of which is well known, has now suddenly been overcome with fear and trepidation lest something may be revealed.

In Senate Resolution 46 the Republican majority continued the existing Committee To Investigate the National Defense Program. They did not create a new committee. They did not fire the old committee, as they are doing in this resolution with respect to the old Small Business Committee. They extended its power and thereby automatically provided that the chairmanship of that committee should go to the Senator from Maine [Mr. Brewster].

If the Republican majority had done the same thing with respect to Senate Resolution 20 and had continued the Small Business Committee, automatically the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Wilson] would have become the chairman of that committee. But in order to get around that, in order to sidetrack him, in order to shelve him as the chairman of the committee, which he would have become if it had been continued, they propose to abolish that committee and create a new one with the understanding that the author of the resolution will be the chairman of the committee. The usual custom followed here is that when a committee is created the author of the resolution creating it is made the chairman of the committee.

Mr. President, probably it is regarded as none of my business as to who should be chairman of the committees of the Senate when the majority on the other side will determine that matter. I am not mentioning it in order that I may have any influence or any control over that matter, because I have no such intention or purpose; but there is not a finer type of gentleman in the Senate of the United States than the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Wilson]. . . . Why should this legislative legerdemain, to use no worse term, have been indulged in in order to get rid of him as the automatic chairman? It may be a matter wholly within the jurisdiction of the present Republican majority, but nevertheless it is a matter of some curiosity to me. If there is any other reason why the existing Small Business Committee should not have been continued, I have not heard it. I doubt whether we will. So much for that.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE SENATE AFTER JANUARY 3, 1947

**Alabama**
*Lister Hill, D.
¶John J. Sparkman, D.

**Arizona**
*Carl Hayden, D.
†E. W. McFarland, D.

**Arkansas**
*John L. McClellan, D.
*J. William Fulbright, D.

**California**
*Sheridan Downey, D.
In doubt.

**Colorado**
*Edwin C. Johnson, D.
*Eugene D. Milliken, R.

**Connecticut**
*Brian McMahon, D.
‡R. E. Baldwin, R.

**Delaware**
*C. Douglass Buck, R.
‡John J. Williams, R.

**Florida**
Spessard L. Holland, D.
*Claude Pepper, D.

**Georgia**
*Walter F. George, D.
*Richard B. Russell, D.

**Idaho**
*Glen H. Taylor, D.
¶H. C. Dworshak, R.

**Illinois**
*Scott W. Lucas, D.
*C. Wayland Brooks, R.

**Indiana**
*H. E. Capehart, R.
‡William E. Jenner, R.

**Iowa**
*George A. Wilson, R.
*B. B. Hickenlooper, R.

**Kansas**
*Arthur Capper, R.
*Clyde M. Reed, R.

**Kentucky**
*Alben W. Barkley, D.
¶John S. Cooper, R.

**Louisiana**
*John H. Overton, D.
*Allen J. Ellender, D.

**Maine**
*W. H. White Jr., R.
§Owen Brewster, R.

**Maryland**
*Millard E. Tydings, D.
In doubt.

**Massachusetts**
*L. Saltonstall, R.
‡Henry C. Lodge Jr., R.

**Michigan**
*Homer Ferguson, R.
†A. H. Vandenberg, R.

**Minnesota**
‡Edward J. Thye, R.
*Joseph H. Ball, R.

**Mississippi**
†Theodore G. Bilbo, D.
*James O. Eastland, D.

**Missouri**
*Forrest C. Donnell, R.
‡James P. Kem, R.

**Montana**
*James A. Murray, D.
‡Zales N. Ecton, R.

**Nebraska**
†Hugh Butler, R.
*Kenneth S. Wherry, R.

**Nevada**
*Pat McCarran, D.
‡George W. Malone, R.

**New Hampshire**
*Styles Bridges, R.
*Charles W. Tobey, R.

**New Jersey**
*Albert W. Hawkes, R.
†H. A. Smith, R.

**New Mexico**
*Carl A. Hatch, D.
In doubt.

**New York**
*Robert F. Wagner, D.
‡Irving M. Ives, R.

**North Carolina**
*Josiah W. Bailey, D.
*Clyde R. Hoey, D.

**North Dakota**
†William Langer, R.
*Milton R. Young, R.

**Ohio**
*Robert A. Taft, R.
‡John W. Bricker, R.

**Oklahoma**
*Elmer Thomas, D.
*E. H. Moore, R.

**Oregon**
*Guy Cordon, R.
*Wayne Morse, R.

**Pennsylvania**
*Francis J. Myers, D.
‡Edward Martin, R.

**Rhode Island**
*Theodore F. Green, D.
‡J. H. McGrath, D.

**South Carolina**
*B. R. Maybank, D.
*Olin D. Johnston, D.

**South Dakota**
*Chan Gurney, R.
*Harlan J. Bushfield, R.

**Tennessee**
†Kenneth McKellar, D.
*Tom Stewart, D.

**Texas**
†Tom Connally, D.
*W. Lee O'Daniel, D.

**Utah**
*Elbert D. Thomas, D.
‡Arthur V. Watkins, R.

**Vermont**
‡Ralph E. Flanders, R.
*George D. Aiken, R.

**Virginia**
†Harry Flood Byrd, D.
¶A. W. Robertson, D.

**Washington**
*W. G. Magnuson, D.
‡Harry P. Cain, R.

**West Virginia**
*C. Revercomb, R.
In doubt.

**Wisconsin**
‡Joseph R. McCarthy, R.
*Alexander Wiley, R.

**Wyoming**
*E. V. Robertson, R.
†J. C. O'Mahoney, D.

*Continuing in office.
†Re-elected for full term ending January 3, 1953.
‡Elected for full term ending January 3, 1953.
¶Elected for unexpired term ending January 3, 1949.
§Re-elected September 5, 1946.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# EDITOR

*George Washington advised in his Farewell Address: "As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of Debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burdens which we ourselves ought to bear."*

*As the Eightieth Congress wrestles with the problem of balancing the federal budget,* Forum *presents a selection of the nation's editorials, illustrating the need for debt reduction, security, international loans, and the danger that Republican tax reduction promises will obscure, if not sabotage, this program.*

## DEBT REDUCTION

Most of the vast expansion of deposits and currency in the hands of the public that took place during the war years resulted from financing budgetary deficits by sales of government securities to commercial banks. Now we are faced by the problem of trying to reduce the abnormally large volume of money in circulation, which continues to be a potential source of inflation. During the past year the Treasury has made some progress in this direction by retiring about 23 billion dollars of maturing government securities, offset to some extent by other debt transactions, making the net reduction 20.7 billion.

These operations have reduced the supply of money, since the government made payment for bonds by drawing down balances held by the banks for its account, thereby reducing the total deposits of the banking system. However, the removal of inflationary pressure has been more apparent than real, because the government payments were made from inactive deposit balances built up from the proceeds of the last war loan. It was money the government did not need, and hence money that would have been used to bid up prices, although the redemption process did put some pressure on the banks in other ways that had a slightly restraining effect on prices. Nevertheless, the volume of money in the hands of the public in the form of currency and non-governmental bank deposits was higher at the end of 1946 than at the end of 1945.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# A L I N G O

The easy and not very effective method of combating inflation by drawing on abnormally large cash balances of the Treasury is an expedient that has about run its course. In the future, debt reductions will have to be met from budget surpluses though some reductions in deposits may be effected by selling government securities to nonbank investors and using the proceeds to retire bank-held debt. If Congress indulges in piecemeal tax reductions that leave little or no surplus for debt-retirement purposes, we shall be left with a huge, inelastic volume of currency and deposits that is likely to be swollen by an expansion of private commercial loans.

—*The Washington Post*

**RETREAT ON THE TAX ISSUE**

The Republicans have grown somewhat more responsible as they got used to their new majority position and actual contact with the facts of the budget has convinced them that reducing it will not be the merry carnival of payroll-slashing some had come to expect.

It is interesting to note how the question of debt reduction is gradually soft-pedaled as the debate proceeds. For years, Republican orators have been viewing the national debt with alarm, and promising to whittle it down when they got the chance. The present period of high national income would be an excellent time to make good on these promises.

As with rabbit stew, however, first you have to get the Treasury surplus. Not long ago the Republicans were promising tax cuts, expenditure cuts *and* debt reduction. Now they don't sing quite so loudly about the surplus. Their search for economy is no longer directed toward reducing the debt, but toward cutting taxes. If they can get expenditures down to the point where a tax cut won't yield a deficit, they will probably be satisfied.

It has been generally overlooked that President Truman requested extension of wartime excise rates for the purpose of producing a surplus for debt reduction. In his budget, he estimated expenditures at $37.5 billion and revenue at $37.7 billion. He added that if Congress would re-enact the wartime excises (as the House has now done) and raise certain postal rates, the revenue could be increased to $39.5 billion, thus leaving a tidy margin for debt reduction.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Republican leadership, having silenced some of the party's hip-shooters, has now accepted the President's proposal on excises. But how the revenue thus added will be used remains to be seen. In order to apply it to debt reduction, and to cut income taxes 20 per cent at the same time, Congress would have to trim expenditures by more than three billion.

Unless such a cut in outlay is made, the income-tax cut will be financed, in part, by keeping excises high. To that extent it would represent a shift but not a reduction of the tax burden.

*—The Chicago Sun*

## THE "INTERNATIONAL" BUDGET

There have been more than a few intimations from Washington that some of the Republicans who are most eager to cut taxes look with a longing eye at an item in the President's budget labeled "International Affairs and Finance." It is a large item, amounting to $3,510,000,000. And this figure, by coincidence, is just about big enough to cover the cost of most of the tax-reduction plans that have been proposed in Congress. What could be more simple? A wave of the wand, and three and a half billions now earmarked for "foreigners" can become three and a half billions nestling snugly in the pockets of politically grateful American taxpayers.

Congress will find it difficult to cut this section of the budget substantially unless it is prepared either to default on treaty obligations or to take a large chance on losing the war after it has been won.

An examination of the sub-items that make up the three and a half billions will prove this to be the case. The largest of them, amounting to $1,200,000 000 represents the estimated credit we shall advance to England during the fiscal year 1947-48 under the terms of the loan agreement which Congress itself approved last year. We cannot cut out, or cut down, that sum without going back on our pledged word. After that in order of importance comes an estimated $645,000,000 for the feeding of people in the American zones of military occupation—principally in Germany and Japan, but also in Austria, Korea and the Ryukyus; to the extent that this sum is reduced we complicate the problems and jeopardize the safety of the small occupation forces which we still have overseas and which no one, on either side of the center aisle of Congress, now proposes to withdraw. The remaining sub-items consist of our membership cost in United Nations (which has the support of both political parties in Congress); of aid we have pledged to the Philippines to compensate

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

partly for war damage; of funds to support overseas activities of the State Department; of a limited amount of new lending (to be undertaken through the Export-Import Bank) for the purpose of helping friendly countries get on their feet, financially and economically, instead of catapulting downhill into international communism

No doubt some economies can be made at some points in this list. But they will be minor ones unless the Republican leadership plumps for a return to isolation.

—*The New York Times*

## NATIONAL SECURITY

Each year when Congress prepares to act on budgets for the Army and Navy, spokesmen for the services appear before the public with pleas for support which invariably take two forms: a picture of the horrors of the next war, and the thesis that our national security rests in our armed might. This year is no exception. Congress is about to act on the budgets and the spokesmen for the services have begun their campaigns.

Speaking before the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, General George C. Kenney predicted that the United States would be the first target for a future aggressor, that the attack would be made over the North Pole with "atomic bombs, super explosives, super-incendiaries, bacterial weapons, or whatever means of mass destruction happen to be in vogue at the time," and that 25 million Americans would be annihilated in the first 24 hours. The same audience then heard Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson recommend that our national might be made a source of strength to our friends and to ourselves. He urged an "adequate" budget for the army of $6,700,000,000 in the coming year.

There can be no quarrel with General Kenney's basic point. Wars become increasingly horrible as man applies his ingenuity to more efficient methods of mass slaughter.

Nor can there be any dispute with Mr. Patterson's basic premise that "the United States must retain her national defenses in sound condition until a competent international police force and system of justice are established firmly."

But in our search for national security it is pertinent to inquire whether we are placing emphasis in the proper directions. Another speaker at the Women's Conference, Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the National Bureau of Standards, made a few remarks which didn't break into the headlines and, in fact, were entirely overlooked in many of the news dispatches.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dr. Condon pointed out, somewhat bitterly, that we are preparing to spend more than 10 billion dollars next year on the armed services, while the United Nations has earmarked only one-fifteen-hundredth as much for United Nation's educational, scientific and cultural agency. In short, we are planning to spend billions on armed might for protection against another war and at the same time are spending only peanuts, relatively, on the enormously important chore of trying to eliminate the root causes of war

Mr. Patterson's estimate of an "adequate" budget for the army next year is ten times as large as the army's budget for 1940, 16 times as large as the budget for 1938, 25 times as large as the budget for 1935. This is inflation with a vengeance. It reflects this nation's greater interests and responsibilities in the world. Careful scrutiny may turn up places here and there where trimming will be beneficial, but on the whole the huge figure seems justifiable.

It is vital to bear in mind, however, that true national security cannot reside permanently and exclusively in armed might. Down through history all the great warrior nations have met their downfall, one by one.

In the long run, genuine security for this nation and for all the world will rest in a collective system which protects the weak and the strong alike and which works unceasingly to dig out and crush the causes of war at their source. The course of wisdom would seem to be to place a little more emphasis in working toward the goal of global security and a little less emphasis on the false security that lies in unilateral armed might.

—*The Providence Evening Bulletin*

---

• Detroit man who was arrested for deliberately ramming '46 cars: "I hate new car owners!" (That's a man with a bumper for you!)

• Dale Muhleman, Bremerton, Washington, got a ticket for speeding. He clipped an announcement of the birth of twin sons to it and sent it to Judge Roy De Grief, claiming that he had been on his way to the hospital. The judge sent it back with the following notation: "Bail reduced to $2 ($1 for each child). This fine is to remind you not to let this happen again—that is, not to exceed the speed limit."

• Fontenelle, the French author, was 90 years old. He passed in front of Madame Helvetius on his way to the table at a dinner party.

"Sir," she said, "what esteem I must have for your gallantry. You passed before me without looking at me."

"Be not surprised, Madame," he replied, "if I had looked at you I should never have passed."

—*Gourmet*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## *Maniatty Landscape*

The maple, crimson, and the birch,
Girl-white and leaning at the pool . . .
How far and long will the heart search
Through the world's tumult for that cool
Arrested moment of stilled light;
Not sure, not ever knowing, quite,
Precisely what it searches for,—
Only that, somewhere, there was, once,
Beyond the world's and its own war,
The shining peace that the heart hunts,
Glimpses . . . and loses . . . and will find—
Surprisingly, as though a book
Fell open—in the memoried mind,
As now . . . Now, close the eyes, and look!

*DAVID MORTON*

## *Peace*

Blue porcelain, bronze Buddha, Buddha of stone
Beaming and benignant as the moon—
Light in the gallery is late afternoon
And momentarily I am alone.

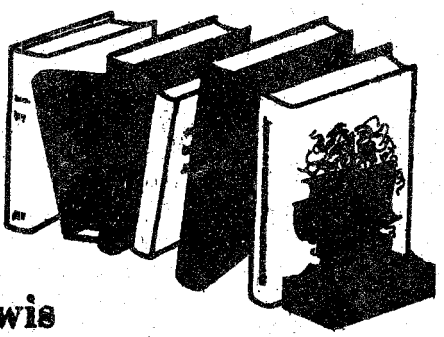
Peace within peace, the peace of Buddha's smile,
The peace of sculptors in some sheltered place
Smoothing the last flaw from the smiling face,
And here for me, peace for a little while.

Yet even while the craftsman curved these lips,
At that same moment of impervious peace,
Other men, somewhere, crumpled to their knees,
Broken and bloody underneath the whips.

*ROBERT FRANCIS*

PRODUCED BY SNEERS
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# BOOKS
## In Brief



### By Jasper R. Lewis

### WORLD TRADE AND PEACE

ANYONE interested in foreign trade—and it affects us all economically whether we know it or not—will find an excellent exposition of the subject in *The Trade of Nations,* by Michael A. Heilperin (Knopf, $3.00). Dr. Heilperin has studied and worked here and abroad on economic tasks; his views are international rather than national. His book is based on the necessity for a general understanding of the workings of international trade, with the resulting influences on politics and peace, or war.

It should be understood that some of his requirements for world amity will be difficult of attainment. High tariff walls in this country have powerful friends, just as in another country subsidies might take up slack in prices. They have here at times. If the general principles are grasped by the average citizen, there is hope that eventually "freer" trade, if not free trade, will follow.

Heilperin shows how the interlacing of foreign commerce and international finance influences the destinies of nations, and, of course, the economic and political life of peoples. The professional economist knows these things, and the international trader knows the practices without too much attention to the principles. The average person is less concerned with the other side of the world, and frequently says so. There is the root of nationalism, and more than one economist puts the key to peace on the altar of internationalism.

There is a lucid chapter on old fashioned Protectionism, which is a subject likely to be well aired in the new heavily Republican Congress. The legitimate purposes of a tariff are well explained, and the abuses which have crept in through monopoly and other pressure.

That new sesame of politics, "full employment," is treated a little roughly, for Heilperin states bluntly that it is a phrase used for emotional appeal. "As a political slogan, the term full employment is an attractive and a promising invention, and is being worked hard on both sides



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Atlantic." He defines it as one of two things: "compulsory work for everybody," with no individual freedom of choice, or "avoidance of protracted mass-unemployment by appropriate business cycles." Currently, the expression is being used vaguely. In this book the author's choice is between the various ways of securing employment and "between the various settings in which the economic system can be made to function." Discussing the views of so eminent a government planner as Sir William Beveridge, Heilperin says: "Planning for full employment, if carried out by national governments in a way which subordinates international order to national objectives, is likely to result in a decline of world trade and in a partial breakup of the international division of labor, and to bring about economic conflicts between nations."

Problems of some of the major nations in this transition period are analyzed, and also the possibilities of the international economic organizations assisting in the solution.

Heilperin's final chapter on America's contributions to world prosperity is a deadly but intelligent attack on our antiquated tariff ideas. It should convince all but the die-hard political emissaries of special interests, and these are not amenable to reason. But the importance of this in the new world picture is made clear to the reader, who will also enjoy confirmation of some of the plain citizen's theories about wars and their causes and the influences behind the powers that be.

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### BIOGRAPHY

James M. Cox, in *Journey Through My Years,* (Simon & Schuster, $4.50), tells his own story, from schoolteacher at 17 to publisher and eventually presidential candidate, in a style that sketches in the details to make an authentic picture. In the telling of his own political achievements, he relates history, both of our country and of Europe in the early thirties. Among the most interesting are his version of the views of the group opposing Wilson, and the "Ohio gang" surrounding Harding, but there are memories of other figures and events. There are some pithy comments on the Florida boom of the twenties, Al Capone, and of course, the New Deal.

The thoughts of an intellectual in a small American community are analyzed by Granville Hicks in *Small Town,* (Macmillan, $3.00). Once an active member of the Communist party and editor of the *New Masses,* Hicks relates his settling into a little place near Troy, New York, his contacts with the local inhabitants, and his evolution into a part of their life. He touches prejudices, education and civic virtue. What he found might belong to any one of thousands of American villages, and what he thinks about people is educational.

Except for the fact that she didn't have to do much social climbing, Napoleon's sister might be described as a French Forever Amorous. *Pauline Bonaparte: A Woman of Affairs,* by Harrison Brent, (Rinehart,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$3.50), is the love-life of Napoleon's favorite sister. A little of the Emperor's glory is reflected in her story, but it is for the most part the lively description of an unsettled and unsettling vixen.

Life among the intellectuals who could not endure Paris under the German occupation, and managed to get to Marseilles, is described in *Kingdom of the Rocks,* by Consuelo de Saint-Exupéry, (Random House, $2.75). In a sanctuary in Oppède, a small town in Southern France, artists, writers and others tried to make the best of the little they could share. The book pictures sad material things, but has a hopeful spiritual perspective.

MISCELLANEOUS

The facetitious Republican, looking at *American Portraits,* (Holt, $3.75), will say that the most striking picture in it is that of President Truman, for once without a smile. The book offers nearly 70 pictures of well known and not so well known figures in many walks of life—politics, literature, education and industry. The portraits are by Enit Kaufman, each with a few pages of brief text by Dorothy Canfield Fisher, including a modest note on Mrs. Fisher herself.

Another of the picture-story products by the editors of *Look,* the place of petroleum in the materiel of warfare, is covered by *Oil for Victory,* (Whittlesey House, $3.50). It is also the story of the men, all over the world, whose efforts or whose courage turned the product into a mighty weapon.

Edward Hungerford knows railroads and railroading, as his previous books stand witness. Now he tells the story of the first railroad between the Atlantic Seaboard and the Great Lakes. *Men of Erie,* (Random House, $3.75), is the history of Old Faithful, as he calls it; through its inception, its pioneering and its early struggles against opposing interests. The dark period of its looting by financiers, and its regeneration, makes lively reading. In fact, in Hungerford's hands, the Erie develops a personality. Not being a rider on Erie, I cannot quarrel with his commendations.

*Grand Central,* by David Marshall, (Whittlesey House, $3.50), however, is nearer home. So be careful, Marshall. Let's see what he thinks of the New York Central's terminal in New York. He briefly tells of Commodore Vanderbilt's acquisition of the road, and discourses at length on the beauties of Grand Central Terminal, the travelers, and the staff which runs it. There is no gainsaying the glories of the "Twentieth Century" and its click-click over the rails, but what about the dirty cars, the schedule that is only a hope to the commuter, and the terrific heat in that subcellar in summer? You tell a nice story, Marshall, but thousands of suburbanites won't believe you.

The opening and settling of the West is told anew in pictures and text in *The Santa Fe Trail,* by the editors of *Look,* (Random House, $3.50). Some photographs show the present development in transportation and other achievements; many more are of old frontier days. It contains reproductions of some

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

old prints, reminiscent of the early "Westruns" of the movies.

*Strange to Tell,* Stories of the Marvelous and Mysterious, edited by Marjorie Fischer and Rolfe Humphries, (Julian Messner, $3.75), is an unusual anthology of unusual stories. It is 500 pages of excellently chosen short tales from skilled pens—Thomas Mann, von Goethe, Heine, Merimée, Verlaine, Franz Kafka, Proust and a score of others. All of the pieces are from European sources; some are of the world of legend. It is a feast of intelligent fiction.

A novel that is as circus-like as its theme is *Keller's Continental Revue,* by Winifred Bambrick, (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.75). Its characters are varied and colorful as the troupe itself, with their own love stories, tragedy and comedy all making a veritable crazyquilt of show-business life.

Fiction lovers will find a selection of the better stories of last year in *The Best American Short Stories, 1946,* edited by Martha Foley, (Houghton, Mifflin, $3.00). This is the annual volume in the series originated by Edward J. O'Brien. In addition to 30 tales, it lists distinctive stories published in the year's magazines, and the addresses of American and Canadian magazines devoted to short stories.

Strong stuff, sometimes a little bitter and nauseous to the palate, is *The Beast of the Haitian Hills,* by Philippe Thoby-Marcelin and Pierre Marcelin, (Rinehart, $2.50). It is a novel of the native peasants, cowed by voodoo and implacable old gods. There is a good story in it, but it lacks a little something, lost possibly in translation, and has a few phrases that might have been omitted.

Do you like ghost stories? Have you memories of the French Quarter in New Orleans? *Ghost Stories of Old New Orleans,* by Jeanne de Lavigne, (Rinehart, $3.50), has some gruesome ones, and some just pleasantly shivery. The tales are based on legends and heresay, and are dated, some of them tracing back a hundred years.

The one prejudice against *Private Angelo,* by Eric Linklater, (Macmillan, $2.75), is that it is a war novel, the hero being an Italian soldier. Somehow there is the flavor of the celebrated Candide and the hypocrisy of Cunegonde, the matching of philosophy to events, and finally an almost impossible domestic situation, shrewdly cynical and yet understandable.

*Francis,* by David Stern, (Farrar, Straus, $2.50), should have appeared two or three years ago. Francis was an army mule (four-legged type) in the Burma theatre, occupied in making a second lieutenant in G-2 into a very wonderful fellow. A little of it appeared in a magazine some time back, but it is expanded into a delightful, partly satirical and partly humorous book. Even at this late date, it will bring chuckles to ex-servicemen and others.

**RECENT BOOKS**

Here are some recently published books you may have overlooked, and there should be something to your taste.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Underground to Palestine,* by I. F. Stone, (Boni &, Gaer, $2.50). Stone relates what he saw of the struggles of displaced European Jews in their efforts to get to Palestine. He doesn't approve Britain's views.

*Death Valley,* by George Palmer Putnam, (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $2.75), is the ever engrossing story of the land of borax, from pioneer days, with a good deal of natural history mixed with legend and anecdote.

*Pavilion of Women,* by Pearl S. Buck, (John Day, $3.00), is a typical Buck novel of China, with emphasis on the customs controlling the attitude of Chinese women toward men.

*Orphan Paul,* by Maxim Gorky, (Boni & Gaer, $2.75) said to be his first novel, hitherto unpublished, is about poverty and misery in old Russian life. It is not particularly good; first novels perhaps should never be published after a writer has achieved his niche.

*Weegee's People,* by Weegee, (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $4.00), is another collection of photographs of Manhattan's dwellers. If you liked the pictures of *Naked City,* here is another treat for you.

*An Ernie Pyle Album,* by Lee G. Miller, (William Sloane Associates, $3.00). Pyle's own story from childhood to Ie Shima, told in text and photographs, for the many who loved the most human war correspondent of them all.

*The Collected Writings of Ambrose Bierce,* with an introduction by Clifton Fadiman (Citadel, $4.00), may need a word of explanation to a generation that may never have heard the name. Bierce was the American author who disappeared in Mexico in 1913. Known then for his satire and realism, the tales are still packed with power and are marvelous reading.

*Mind at the End of Its Tether,* and *The Happy Turning,* by H. G. Wells, (Didier, $2.50), are two pessimistic essays on the illness of this world, worn out by war and hate. The former essay is possibly the last piece of work from Wells' pen, and gives a low evaluation to Man.

*As He Saw It,* by Elliott Roosevelt, (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $3.00), tells about the meeting of F.D.R. with Churchill and Stalin at the several conferences during the war. The author's views are entirely his own, and will be interpreted according to the reader's politics.

*American Sahib,* by John Muehl, (John Day, Asia Press, $3.00), covers a year with the British Indian Army during the war. Muehl's sympathies are for the natives, and he doesn't follow the British line. He pictures vividly native life and customs.

*Journey to Accompong,* by Katherine Dunham, (Holt, $2.50), is a mixture of anthropological observations and notes on native dancing, by a famous dancer. The locale is in the wilds of Jamaica.

---

● A bureaucrat is a Democrat who holds an office a Republican wants."

—*Alben W. Barkley*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Theatre Arts

## By John Gassner

NOTHING is as important to the theatre as the emergence of a new talent, and the first month of the year closed auspiciously with the emergence of Arthur Miller via *All My Sons*. It is the first true-post-war play because it is the first effort to search our hearts. Previously known to the stage only through the failure of his *The Man Who Had All the Luck*, Mr. Miller has served an apprenticeship to the theatre since 1937 when prize money doled out by Theresa Helburn of the Theatre Guild enabled him to complete his education at the University of Michigan. His apprenticeship included radio-writing for Columbia Workshop and Cavalcade of America, as well as one-act plays for the progressive Stage for Action, and culminated last year in the novel *Focus*, which was originally mapped out as a three-act play. Lucky in finding the right producers for *All My Sons*, most of them former Group Theatre veterans, and fortunate in his director Elia Kazan, Mr. Miller now occupies a coveted position as the American theatre's new Odets.

The new play has a simple enough story; that is, it is simple enough if one overlooks the complexity of human nature. Suburbanite Joe Keller, the father of two soldier sons, one of whom died in a plane crash, was a small airplane manufacturer in the war and was arrested for selling the government cracked airplane parts that caused 21 planes to crash on their first flights. He was exonerated, but his partner, an innocent man, is still doing time in the penitentiary. The town is not convinced of Keller's innocence but gives him credit for being smart, and his reconverted plant is now flourishing. He has, however, completely convinced his surviving, idealistic son, Chris, of his innocence, and Mr. Miller's play is relentlessly devoted to stripping the father's mask and exposing his guilt. This is brought about by the son's conflict with his mother who refuses to let him marry the imprisoned partner's daughter, who had once been engaged to his older brother, the flyer. Mrs. Keller cannot accept the latter's death, although he has been missing for three years, and her

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*idée fixe* causes Chris and his father, both of whom want life to resume its normal course, untold misery. Her son *must* be alive, and by the time the play reaches its climax we learn why this belief is so important to her—because if her flyer son is dead, it was his own father who caused his death, since she knows that Joe Keller ordered the defective parts to be delivered to the government. By then Chris himself is suspicious, owing to a slip on his mother's part while she is placating the victimized partner's son who has come to prevent his sister from marrying into the Keller family. Joe Keller may protest that the parts went into a type of plane his son never flew, but that makes little difference to his conscience-burdened wife. And the final revelation in the form of a letter confirms her belief: the flyer son, having read a report of his father's trial in a newspaper, had lost his will to live; he lost his life deliberately on his last flight.

By this time, Joe Keller's last defenses are overthrown. Until then, his argument has been that he would have lost his business if he had withheld the parts; the government would have withdrawn its orders, and his small plant would have been closed. Bigger manufacturers got away with more than he. If he is to be blamed for profiting from the war, millions of men should be brought before the bar of justice. He was only human, and he did what he did for his family's sake. But he learns, at last, that the sense of responsibility that does not go beyond the family is evil. Love of family can become a crime against society, against all humanity. It cannot even save the family but can only destroy that which the Joe Kellers of the world have tried to preserve. (I recall that Jack London used the same argument in a pamphlet written to discourage strike-breaking by workers who invariably protested that their first loyalty was to their wives and children.) Exposed and denounced by his son, Joe pretends that he is going to give himself up to the police, goes into his house and shoots himself.

Not only is the unfolding story absorbing, but the intensely moral theme has ramifications in the body politic; not only in the body politic, but in the personal conscience upon which society rests. Nevertheless, Mr. Miller's greatest achievement lies in his skillful handling of the dramatic narrative by means of contrapuntal touches, gradual progressions and fluctuating conflict, and in the knack Mr. Miller has for embodying his matter in frail and anguished flesh. His characters are average people; even the villain is an absolutely real and rounded individual. The moral issue becomes incarnated, and moral law catches up with people who blind themselves to wrong or try to rationalize it out of existence. Their divided loyalties lead them to delude themselves, as Chris does when he believes his father innocent, or to cover up the villainy, as does the mother who conceals the facts until the truth slips out against her will.

Artistry of this nature produces an overloaded play and draws the charge of overplotting, awkwardness

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and muddiness. But it also makes a rich play that is welcome in a theatre whose plays generally look threadbare and insubstantial by comparison with the modern novel. The exigencies of dramatic condensation do make *All My Sons* a little too contrived, in the sense that it depends on such devices as a slip-of-the-tongue on the part of the mother, a letter from the flyer that the partner's daughter produces at the convenient climactic moment, and a visit to the prison by her brother who had never before visited his father. But Mr. Miller nearly makes such details seem natural. The author even resorts to a little symbolism; the backyard tree planted in memory of the flyer is blasted by a storm the night before the action of the play. Although this, too, may be set down as a case of piling on the bricks of circumstance, Mr. Miller uses the device with discretion.

Mr. Miller also creates his voltage by alternating low quiet scenes with intense ones. This invites the charge of dullness in the one instance and frenzy in the second; the scenes seem over-intense perhaps because they are preceded by low-pitched scenes. Nevertheless, the method justifies itself on the whole by producing the right effect of involuntary and necessitous explosiveness. This play is not only a dramatic virtue but a way of making the action natural and convincing for all but those who are too monogamously attached to hackneyed dramatics. Nobody in the play, except the heroine's brother, George, wants to reveal or discover anything. Yet [illegible] a masterly combination of conscience, doubt and anguish force discoveries and confessions upon them. Even George, who comes upon the scene convinced of Joe Keller's guilt and is resolved to expose him, readily allows himself to be quieted by Keller's wife, who knew George as a child. George would be only too happy to return to his friendly relations with the Kellers. Finally, verisimilitude is effected by the presence of minor characters, neighbors who wander in and out of the Keller's backyard, carrying with them segments of their own lives and problems which are not to be resolved in this play. Some critics find these characters superfluous. Mr. Miller evidently does not, and rightly so, since the incidental persons help to create a normal background and a frame of reference for the abnormal events in the Keller household. The Kellers' dramatic bedevilment is merely an aggravation by circumstance of their neighbors'—that is, of ordinary people's—undramatic frustrations, compromises and nibbles at happiness. It is all these methods and details of playmaking, to which must be added a good deal of excellent dialogue, that qualify Arthur Miller for acclaim as the post-war theatre's first playwright of magnitude—notwithstanding a little awkwardness, some elaborate plotting, some straining, and a dull beginning.

The production has the same virtues, as well as minor defects. Mordecai Gorelik's authentic backyard setting and extraordinarily sensitive and expressive lighting deserve nothing but praise. Elia Kazan's direc-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

restraint and passion, has excellent timing throughout, and glides expertly over the incidental small talk as if there were some conservation in a suburban backyard that is only for the characters. Often the characters are not so much heard as overheard. Modulation is the key to the direction. Wherever the playwright's speeches are in danger of seeming patterned or flat, the direction quickly repairs the damage. The action flows like a New England brook, now slow, now fast, now exceedingly quiet, now babbling, now precipitous. It is an extraordinary experience watching this virtuoso performance by the director. A scene like the one in which Chris strikes his father one blow on the back and lets the ensuing two or three blows fall like a caress is plainly memorable. Arthur Kennedy and Joe Begley play Chris and Joe Keller superbly. Beth Merrill makes authentic and heart-breaking drama out of the role of the mother. Karl Malden turns the brother George—a *sans-culotte* Hamlet—into a character around whom it would not be difficult to build a novel, or at least a novella. Only Lois Wheeler impressed me as inadequate, and this not for want of acting ability but because her personality is uninteresting. Nevertheless, this is probably the point of the characterization—she is the middle-class Ophelia who should not radiate in her environment.

Indeed, *All My Sons* is real middle-class tragedy, the *drama bourgeois* of which Diderot and Lessing dreamed as long ago as the eighteenth century when the middle-class became articulate. Only the orientation is anti-bourgeois because the play rejects middle-class values no matter how understandingly and humanly they are treated. The play is anti-bourgeois, and in that sense revolutionary and a product of the so-called "left" theatre, because it is against the profit-motive, against so-called "practicality" or fear of failure that becomes willingness to injure others in the name of self-preservation (the only poisonous essence of *laissez-faire*), and against the ancillary spirit of compromise and hypocrisy. In essence, the play is for the fundamentally socialist—and Judaeo-Christian, and moral!—concept of social responsibility that transcends not only the personal ego but the family. The family is de-sentimentalized and seen to be an extension of the ego in which the social sense flickers rather than flames, and in which there is often so much more egotism than social idealism that the one destroys the other. That this viewpoint, for which there is still no better statement than that we are members of one another, is indispensable to the atomic age cannot be overlooked even by the bright as a whistle school of urbane wits and critics.

For Mr. Miller the expression of this viewpoint is as natural as breathing. If he is passionate, it is because he knows that the Joe Kellers—and there are millions of them—believe otherwise, and that in acting otherwise they make a shambles of the world. If he is, nonetheless, compassionate, it is because he knows that the Joe Kellers simply cannot comprehend anything but *laissez-*

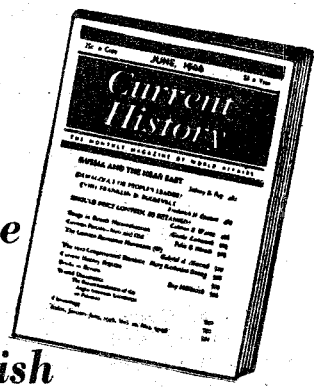
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*faire* outside the home until they experience tragedy within the home. Considering the world in which they have grown to manhood, they are victimized long before they victimize others. If Mr. Miller is optimistic instead of bitter or cynical, and if his play is exalting rather than depressing, it is because he knows that not everybody wants to be a Joe Keller, not even Joe Keller himself. If, finally, the play is convincing on the stage, it is because the playwright refrains from polemics and demonstrates his truth through people rather than puppets. He speaks through characters instead of speaking at them. They, in turn, speak to the audience by being what they are and doing what they do, achieving the right to be heeded because they have attained stature with their representative humanity, which comes by its anguish honestly and meaningfully.

Most middle-class drama has lacked tragedy's lift, even as it has lacked tragedy's passion. A good example is the play *Little A* that opened a week or two before *All My Sons*. Here the average man, played by Otto Kruger, stewed in his juices while the average woman, turned villainess, put the pot on the fire because of mere petty perversity. Most propaganda drama fails equally, because it indulges in too much puppetry. This is evident not only in the obvious examples but in the lighter efforts at parable and propaganda represented, at about the same time, by the Bush—Feketes' comedy, *The Big Two*, which had the theme of Russo-American relations. The worth of the theme was cancelled largely by the woeful undernourishment of the characters. The Russian officer, ably played by Philip Dorn, was often convincing, but was thrust into a situation fabricated along the conventionally romantic lines of a soldier falling in love with a lady. The American correspondent played by Claire Trevor was unreal. Between the two of them, they could strike drama only fitfully, and only after they had frittered away an act and a half in discussing Russian and American ideologies. When they joined their bodies and souls, they evoked the reality of a moment rather than a genuine human relationship. If this was intended to exemplify a rapprochement between Russia and America not only was the parable too transparent but it was open to suspicion of being no more genuine or substantial than the surface rapprochement of Miss Trevor and Mr. Dorn. It would have been better if the authors had concentrated on the romance and given it enough dramatic substance to make continuous, instead of spotty, entertainment. The authors failed to consummate either comedy or message, and *The Big Two* looked like a sketch for a play rather than the play that was latent in the material. Their failure was all the more lamentable in that they were on the right track in some character sketches, some well employed moments of humor, and two genuinely moving moments—when the Russian explained his use of the pronoun "we" in terms of his experience as an orphan, and when a "displaced" pathetic little woman held the stage.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# A $4.00 BARGAIN For Every Home!




## 16 Months — 16 Issues of *Current History Magazine* AND *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*

Have you ever had to stop in the middle of a sentence and search for the perfect word that exactly fits your meaning? Have you ever stumbled over a phrase whose meaning wasn't entirely clear? Do you get all snarled up trying to say things in a new way? If you do, it's because you have a keen interest in writing and speaking well, but you need a guide to achieving the richness of expression you desire.

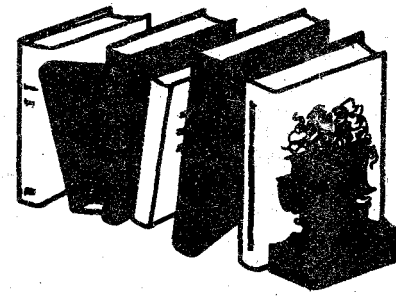
***Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*** is just the book for you! A book used by speakers and writers for years. A book that students of English find indispensable in their studies. A book that every home library should include. And we make it available to you at this astoundingly modest price!

**For only $4.00, we offer you the finest book of its kind on the English language and CURRENT HISTORY—the monthly magazine of world affairs!**

Do you wish to know more about the significant steps that are taken at United Nations assemblies? Do you want the factual background to today's news which places daily reports in proper perspective? Are you curious to view the decisions made at the Moscow meeting of Foreign Ministers in the light of historic parallels?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Are you interested in the basic conflicts behind the turmoil in the Balkans and in India, the revolution in Indo-China, the terror in Palestine? CURRENT HISTORY is your magazine of current affairs that gives you authoritative information. Not only does it give you the factual background, but CURRENT HISTORY's skilled historians and economists dig into the past for you and point out the long term significance of current events.



# *$4.00 Can Complete Your Library Shelf*

Each month CURRENT HISTORY presents a 20-page **Chronology**, an accurate day-by-day account of the events in every country of the world, designed to give you a key to easily forgotten facts and dates as well as a significant overall picture of the pattern of world events.

In addition, CURRENT HISTORY prints the official texts of the month's important agreements, speeches and treaties.

**A copy of *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases* should be on every library shelf. A copy should complete your collection of books that serve you and your family.**

**In Roget's Thesaurus, words and phrases are not arranged alphabetically as in the ordinary dictionary, but are grouped according to ideas. You find, in addition to the word you are looking for, all synonyms, words that give varying shades to your meaning.**

**Because we are sure that you will find *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases* (bound in fine cloth) a valuable reference for every-day use—because we know that CURRENT HISTORY for 16 months will prove itself an interesting, vital and authoritative magazine of current affairs—we urge you to take advantage of this special offer—*Both For Only $4.00!***

**Just fill in the coupon below and enclose it with your check or money order, and send to—**

**EVENTS PUBLISHING CO., 2030 Upland Way, Phila. 31, Pa.**

---

**Please send me at once a copy of *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases* and enter my name for a 16-month subscription to CURRENT HISTORY. I understand you offer both for only $4.00!**

☐ **I enclose $4.00.** ☐ **Send C.O.D. and I will pay a few cents extra for postage.**

**Name**.....

**Address**.....

347F

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# HIGHLIGHTING

## The International Scene

The signing of peace treaties on February 10, 1947, marked another step in the formal termination of the state of war between Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Finland and the Allies. As soon as the treaties are ratified, the war, for these five German satellites, will be over.

The ceremonies in the Salon d'Orloge were not particularly impressive; nor did any disorder mar the neat dispatch of the proceedings. The treaties were signed on a seventeenth century table, once owned by Louis XV and Louis XVI, and on which the wounded Robespierre lay before he was guillotined. Stanoje Simitch, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, signed under protest, but signed nonetheless. An eleventh hour crisis was averted when Georges Bidault called the United States, British and Soviet envoys to decide that Italian signing was not tantamount to ratification (in spite of a surprising note to that effect sent by the British Ambassador to Rome). Since ratification in Italy is expected to pose a crisis, this was by no means a mere technicality.

### ITALY

Meanwhile, in Rome, violence marked the Italian "day of mourning" for the treaty. British Brigadier General R. W. M. DeWinton was shot and killed in *Pola,* where 23,000 inhabitants were being evacuated to Italy. (This city had been ceded to Yugoslavia.) An Italian demonstrator was wounded in the Yugoslav Legation.

After ten minutes of silence at 11 A. M., crowds in Rome began to riot, and the cry "Duce, Duce!" was heard for the first time since 1943. The disturbances augured ill for the Italian Cabinet, and particularly for Foreign Minister Carlo Sforza.

In the Italian Constituent Assembly, 17 political parties are represented in 556 seats.[1] Premier Alcide De Gasperi's latest cabinet, appointed on February 2, reflected the necessity for coalition in a government where no party has a majority. The cabinet was made up principally of Christian Democrats, Communists and Socialists, all of whom will share the unpopularity over the Italian treaty.

As members of the government, the Italian Communists will lose an arguing point enjoyed after the last war by their German comrades. When Germany signed the Versailles Treaty, only the Center and the Social Democrats took the responsibility (President of the Ministry Scheidemann retired and the Democratic Party left the coalition). It may be said with some justice that the Social Democrats in Germany never recovered polit-

1 Christian Democrats (Catholic) 206 deputies; Communists, 105; Socialists, 75; Anti-Fusionist Socialists, 40; Party of Democratic Union, 40; Common Man Front, 30.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ically; rival parties in Germany never let them forget their "guilt." Before the Italian treaty is ratified, the Italian cabinet may suffer similar disintegration, with cries of "Duce!" ringing in the streets.

## THE GERMAN TREATY

The German occupation prescribed by the Treaty of Versailles had only touched the edge of the Ruhr—the heart of industrial Germany. Only the left bank of the Rhine was to be occupied by foreign troops. Nonetheless, when the German government refused to accept the Paris reparation proposals, the French sent troops into the Ruhr. They guarded the coal mines, which were worked for the reparations account of France and Belgium. This occupation, in March, 1921, covered 5800 square kilometres and 877,000 people. In November, 1923, when German inflation again threatened reparation payments, the French occupied the entire Ruhr area. The occupation, which was finally withdrawn in July, 1925, (with the establishment of the Dawes plan) was a serious blow to the German cabinet and the German economy. German passive resistance had cost, according to some estimates, four billion gold marks and many lives.

Early in February, 1947, the French announced a plan for the Ruhr which would once again cut out the heart of industrial Germany. This plan, to be taken up in detail by the Big Four Foreign Ministers, calls for international control of the Ruhr's economy by the transfer of title of Ruhr mines and steel plants to the United Nations. This suggestion marks a retreat from France's original demand—the complete separation of the Ruhr and Rhineland from Germany.

The Ruhr is not only vital to an industrial Germany, it is essential to the recovery of Europe as a whole. With an area of 1,000 square miles and a population (German) of 4,000,000, a productive Ruhr could help Germany to re-arm; it could also help reconstruction all over Europe. To reap the latter benefit without the former liability is part of the job of the Four Foreign Ministers.

Needless to say, the Big Four do not see eye to eye on the prospective treaty. The United States favors economic and political (federated) unification of Germany. Believing that German recovery is essential to European reconstruction, the United States wants reparations held to a minimum that will not choke off production.

Although Great Britain agrees generally with the American point of view, the British favor nationalization of Ruhr industry within Germany. France obviously does not favor this proposal.

Like France, Russia's primary interest in Germany is her own security. A centralized Germany with a pro-Soviet orientation is the natural Russian concern. Russia also demands $10,000,000,000 in reparations to be paid

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

if possible from current industrial production. The Soviet Union did not look with favor on the economic unification of the British and American zones, nor were the Russians pleased with the Dulles plan. In a speech to the National Publishers Association on January 18, Mr. Dulles, Republican advisor on international affairs, proposed decentralizing Germany politically into federal states and integrating the industrial potential of Western Germany into the economic life of western Europe. Western European powers would exercise joint control over the bases of Germany's industrial economy.

## ATOM CONTROL

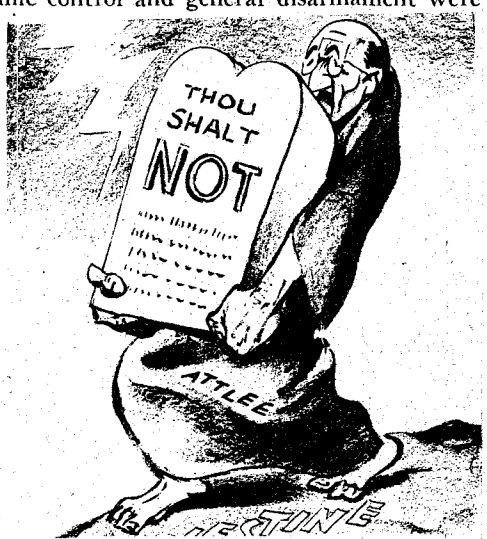
The Atom dispute, unsolved after eight months of negotiation, also pointed up Soviet-American differences. On June 14, 1946, Bernard Baruch had announced the American control plan at the first meeting of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. Andrei Gromyko countered with a Russian plan five days later (see *Forum*, August, 1946). The American plan called for "vetoless inspection and vetoless punishment"; the Russians declared that the rule of Big Five "unanimity" must stand.

When the Atomic Energy Commission finally adopted a report on December 30, 1946, Mr. Gromyko abstained from voting. During the week of February 10, 1947, atomic control and general disarmament were discussed at four meetings of the United Nations Security Council. On February 14, Mr. Gromyko bluntly rejected the American plan. In a detailed statement, read in English, he declared:

(1) The American plan is "one-sided", aims at "a position of monopoly in atomic energy production for one country."

(2) "Unhampered production" of A-Bombs is being "used as a certain kind of lever for political pressure."

(3) "Immediate measures for the prohibition of atomic weapons" takes precedence over a "comprehensive system" of controls.




Burck in *The Chicago Times*

"THE NEW COMMANDMENTS"

(4) American proposals for veto-less inspection and punishment are aimed at "undermining the foundations" of the United Nations and "must be rejected" because they "sow seeds of suspicion toward the Great Powers."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

While Mr. Austin, from ski-conscious Vermont, said, "We have gone o the end of the cable-tow;" Mr. Gromyko declared, "The proposals ubbornly insisted upon by the United States are unacceptable."

Americans remembered with some assurance that the United States till holds the A-Bomb secret; they read with misgiving Mr. Baruch's tatement that some atom secrets have leaked to Russia; they recalled Molov's promise that Russia "will have atomic energy and other things, too."

## THE PROMISED LAND

The United Nations organization will face another severe test when ie Palestine problem comes up. The British government had failed to reak a deadlock between Arabs, Jews and the British Palestine administraon in a three-week conference in London. Unwilling to grant Jewish emands for free immigration into Palestine and, unable to ignore the dire eed of displaced Jews, the British had advocated a partition of Palestine nto semi-autonomous Arab and Jewish states with increased Jewish immiration. Both Arabs and Jews refused to consider the suggestions.

On February 14, the cabinet announced that the case would be subnitted to the United Nations. Millions of people will be affected by any ecision; not only the 650,000 Jews and 1,110,000 Arabs in Palestine, but ie entire Arab population of the Middle East—33,000,000—and the ,350,000 surviving European Jews.

Britain has never succeeded in resolving the dilemma of her Palestine landate. Pledged by Lord Balfour to the cause of Zionism and by Sir I. MacMahon to Arab nationalism, the British government, under the eague of Nations, could not reconcile the aims of the Jews and the Arabs. ccording to the Balfour Declaration (November, 1917): "Recognition as been clearly given to the historic connection of the Jewish people with alestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their natural home in that ountry." And, on the other hand: "The British Government agrees to elp in the formation of an Arab Empire. . . ."—thus MacMahon, Resient-in-Cairo, wrote to King Hussein in January, 1915. The Arabs claim hat this promise included Palestine; the Jews believe that the Balfour eclaration insured free immigration and a Jewish majority in Palestine.

Since 1923 the British have held a League of Nations mandate to overn Palestine—a mandate that embodied the principles of the Balfour eclaration. The history of the mandate was marked by successive (and uccessful) Arab rioting and increasing restriction on Jewish immigration. n the face of German and Italian aggression, Britain's primary concern ecame appeasing the Arabs, and the MacDonald White Paper of May, 939, was an attempt to win Arab support for the inevitable conflict. The mmigration policy then established (and still extant) allowed for the adission of some 75,000 immigrants over a five-year period to bring the ewish population up to one-third of the total population. "After the eriod of five years, no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless he Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it." In April, 1946, an nglo-American Commission recommended that 100,000 displaced Jews

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be admitted to Palestine immediately and that a long-term solution b sought in the formation of a state neither "Arab nor Jewish." The Jew rejected the long-range proposal and the Arabs the admission of new im migrants.

During the negotiations of January, 1947, new violence broke out i Palestine and British civilians were evacuated. It is unlikely that th United Nations will be able to solve the problem: it is even more unlikel that the British will be able to extricate themselves from their dilemma

## BRITAIN'S DECLINING POWER

Meanwhile, in Britain, the coal crisis, combined with the coldes winter in 50 years, precipitated an electric power shortage. Power con sumption in all areas of the United Kingdom was cut down; in a larg part of England, electric power supplying industries was temporarily cu off. Approximately 5,000,000 persons were thrown out of work by th end of February. Street lights were out; train service was seriously cu tailed. Domestic consumers were without electricity for five hours a da in freezing homes. By the middle of February, Britons had suffered 2 days of severe cold; except for six minutes of sun, Londoners hadn't see sunlight for 16 days. Heavy snowfalls blocked thoroughfares: over 7 main roads in England were impassable; 85 others were open for single lane traffic only.

Although the Labor government was bitterly criticized, (Winsto Churchill denounced "grave faults of administrative collapse by a Socialist planning government"), there is no doubt that the crisis goes deeper tha politics. The last 20 years have seen a steady decline in coal production in 1927, 243,176,231 long tons were mined; in 1946, 192,000,000. Man mines are worked out, much equipment is antiquated. A considerable num ber of miners are over 65 years old; 100,000 are over 55; 150,000 over 50 When the crisis broke, coal production was 300,000 tons a week short o consumption; power stations were using up meager backlogs; the tempera ture was dropping. . . .

Britain's current difficulties must be seen in the light of her over-al problem: "export or die." Dependent on the rest of the world for man vital raw materials, the British have to import, and, to import, they mus export. To help pay for the war the United Kingdom had liquidated mor than five billion dollars of overseas assets. Foreign debts totalled fourtee billion. One-third of her merchant ship tonnage had been lost. Heav damage had been suffered in bombing raids. Although the United State and Canada had lent Great Britain about five billion dollars, the loans wil be exhausted by the end of next year. The British would have to increas production (with a shortage of 500,000 workers in the export trades an 600,000 in Domestic industry). Their weakened economy gave little sup port to the pressing problems of Empire. According to the cautious *York shire Post*, "large forces now being maintained abroad will have to be re duced to provide more manpower for industry at home. The time ha

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ow come when Britain may be forced to reduce some of her armaments." As Mallory Browne so aptly phrased it in *The New York Times:*

"The coal crisis in Britain is an uncannily accurate symbol of the resent plight of the British Empire. In both cases, the underlying problem s one of power." As Briton's shivered, King George VI, Queen Elizabeth nd the two royal princesses landed in tropical South Africa (temperature 13 degrees)—living symbols of a still far-flung Empire.

Americans will do well to remember that, since the late nineteenth entury, United States security has been closely linked to Britain.

# The Domestic Scene

Secretary of State George C. Marshall gave an indication of the tren[illegible] f this country's diplomatic relations with Russia when he sent a curt re[illegible] o the Soviet protest of Undersecretary Dean Acheson's statement tha[illegible] Russian foreign policy is "an aggressive and expansive one." Marshall, who replaced James Byrnes as Secretary of State on January 8, told the Soviet, in effect, that Acheson's views are shared by most Americans, including the State Department.

Members of Congress suspected David E. Lilienthal of "Communist eanings", and delayed confirmation of his appointment as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

A meek, bespectacled, and very arrogant little man named Gerhard Eisler was elevated to front-page prominence when he was thought to be he top-ranking Soviet spy in this country.

Congress toyed with President Truman's proposed $37,528,000,000 udget for 1948. Republicans had pledged to cut taxes, but, after studying he situation, they realized their promises were going to be hard to keep. After pleas from military leaders and Secretary of War Patterson, a six illion dollar slash in the budget was reduced to a proposed four and one-alf billion dollar slash, but it was then pushed back to six billion.

A flood of labor bills was heaped upon Congress. Senator Ball led he anti-labor group with four different bills, while Secretary of Labor chwellenbach defended labor and its policies. The A.F. of L. made peace ventures to the C.I.O. in an effort to solidify labor's none-too-secure osition.

Elsewhere in the nation, young Herman Talmadge occupied the Governor's seat in Georgia after winning a "write-in" majority from the State egislature. Despite opposition from ex-Governor Ellis Arnall, Herman ook over the reins of government. . . . The Army and Navy hit upon a erger plan whose most sweeping effect would be to make one man a Secretary of National Defense. . . . A two-term limit on the presidency was tarted on its way to becoming a possible constitutional amendment. . . .

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Democrats were apparently grooming President Truman for the 1948 candidacy. . . . The draft appeared headed for extinction by the end of March with the War Department uncertain whether to extend it.

## SPIES IN OUR MIDST

The first warning that something was amiss was flashed on January 29, when David E. Lilienthal, chairman-designate of the Atomic Energy Commission, blamed American scientists for many "serious breaches" of atomic security, and asked for a secret Senate hearing on atomic bomb spying by foreign agents in this country.

On February 4, Bernard Baruch struck a second alarm when he told members of the Senate Joint Atomic Energy Committee that he was "deeply disturbed by leaks which were enabling Soviet agents to learn valuable atomic secrets in Canada. Baruch told the Senators that Russia had apparently ferreted out closely-guarded secrets because some Russian delegates to the United Nations had asked questions which were phrased in a way that could only have come about through knowledge of American secrets. The Soviet representatives used hitherto unspoken code words. Baruch stated that a group of American scientists had been insistent upon publishing atom bomb data to pacify angry quarters abroad, and rapped these scientists for "lambasting" the Army into making public the Smyth Report in 1945.

The hammer fell on February 5, when Gerhard Eisler, a timid-faced German-born, unimpressive little man was arrested in his New York apartment and jailed at Ellis Island on a presidential warrant. Eisler was called the "Number One Soviet Spy in America."

Hailed before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on February 6, Eisler was defiant and refused to talk under oath. He was cited for contempt of Congress. Evidence was accumulated against him. Louis F. Budenz, former manager editor of the *Daily Worker*, said that Eisler was really "Hans Berger", the Soviet secret agent in charge of all Communist activities in the United States. Eisler's own sister charged that he was an international Russian spy and trouble-shooter with the blood of several enemies of the Kremlin on his hands. John Edgar Hoover, chief of the F.B.I., revealed in a letter that Eisler had entered this country secretly in 1933, and from that time until 1938 he was American representative of the Communist International.

During those years, Hoover stated, he was known as "Edwards", and was recognized by party leaders as a figure of almost unlimited authority. In 1945 Eisler received checks from the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, a long-established Communist "front", under another name.

If convicted of contempt of Congress, and it is reasonable to assume that he will be, Eisler faces a jail term of up to one year and a fine of $1,000, or both. This would give the government time to prepare charges of passport falsification, perjury, conspiracy to overthrow the government

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and failure to register as a foreign agent.

## TAKING NO CHANCES

With the Eisler incident still fresh, Senator H. Styles Bridges arose in the Senate on February 9, and announced that David E. Lilienthal, awaiting Senate confirmation on his appointment as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, was a Russian appeaser, had condoned Communists in the Tennessee Valley Authority while T.V.A. board chairman, and, therefore, should be denied confirmation of the post. Senators Kenneth Wherry and Kenneth McKellar joined in the accusations. Opposition to Lilienthal grew, and within two days, several senators were urging President Truman to drop his nomination and select somebody else. With the T.V.A. incident a good political weapon for their side, Republican Senators hammered away, while the President remained firm in his belief that Lilienthal was the man for the job. On February 16, it looked black for the prospective Atomic Energy Commission chairman, but a day later, opposition slowly receded as Senate Democratic leaders stepped up their support.

Herblock in *The Washington Post*

"OKAY, KID— NOW ALL YOUVE GOT TO DO IS MAKE GOOD"

## LASHING BACK AT RUSSIA

"I am quite aware of the fact that Russian foreign policy is an aggressive and expanding one," Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson told the Senate Atomic Committee hearing on February 10, while he was testifying on behalf of Lilienthal. The remark was printed in the newspapers, and was quickly seized upon by Russian quarters as "rudely slanderous and hostile to the Soviet Union." An official note to that effect was sent to Secretary of State George C. Marshall.

Marshall got his first opportunity to display his Secretarial wares. On January 7, he had been recalled from China to report personally on the Chinese civil war. A day later, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes announced his resignation on grounds of poor health. The President accepted it quietly. But when a newspaper reporter and radio newscaster, Lowell

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thomas, picked up the exclusive story of Marshall's appointment, the White House decided to break the news officially. The public wondered how the former general would handle diplomatic affairs.

Their answer came in Marshall's curt reply to the Soviet note. "The conduct of the Undersecretary, in answering the question frankly and in accordance with his conscience cannot be described as inadmissable, but was rather in the line of duty," he told Russia. Congress and the country roundly applauded.

## LET'S BUDGE THE BUDGET

Ever since President Truman announced his proposed $37,528,000,000 budget for 1948, Congress pushed it around like a volleyball. In fact, before he even gave his budget message to the nation on January 10, a [redacted]antly Republican Congress was whetting its axe in preparation.

[redacted]ving campaigned for a 20 per cent tax reduction, the Republican [redacted] decided to live up to its promises. The $37,528,000,000 amount was "a cold shock to the American taxpaying public," according to Chairman Bridges of the Senate Appropriations Committee. But four days later, Chairman Knutson of the House Ways and Means Committee said that forthcoming legislation would retain the high wartime luxury taxes. It was not long in coming, for on January 29, the House voted overwhelmingly to keep these taxes.

Congress returned to its budget-slashing ideas, and Representative John Taber proposed firing a million federal employees. Two days later, Republican leadership in the House again pledged to cut taxes 20 per cent but admitted that it would be a difficult trick. A Senate-House Budgetary subcommittee voted for a six billion dollar slash in the $37,528,000,000 budget plan until Generals Eisenhower, MacArthur, Spaatz, and Secretary of War Patterson declared that such a slash would weaken our national defense and raise the spectre of starvation in Europe.

A four and one-half billion dollar budget cut was introduced, and while Congress vacillated between a six or four and one-half billion budget cut, the Senate voted to retain the war luxury taxes for an indefinite period.

## LABOR PAINS

While Congress tinkered with labor legislation to curb strikes and shut-downs that have throttled industry, labor leaders looked around for ways and means of holding onto existing advantages. Representative Francis Case introduced a "New Case Bill" designed to permit the government to issue injunctions to halt labor disputes threatening national welfare and to make unions liable for damages and loss of bargaining rights in sympathy and jurisdictional strikes. The Senate Labor Committee rolled up its sleeves in anticipation of the Ball-Taft-Smith Bill which proposed to set up a federal mediation board, delay strikes 60 days, outlaw jurisdictional walkouts and require unions to make financial statements.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An omnibus labor bill sought to amend the Wagner Act by defining employee's unfair practices, forbidding jurisdictional strikes, giving employers the right to talk over labor problems with their employees, and outlawing the closed shop.

The C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. immediately attacked the flood of labor legislation while attorneys for the National Labor Relations Board told the Supreme Court that under the Wagner Act, even vice presidents of large companies can join labor unions or engage in collective bargaining over salaries and working conditions.

A week later, Attorney General Tom Clark answered appeals from John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers who were protesting the $3,510,000 fines imposed on them by a Washington District Court for contempt of court. In upholding the decision of District Judge Goldsborough who charged Lewis with contempt, Clark said that L conduct was an "insult to the nation" and his actions "were an invit to mob rule."

Meanwhile, Senator Joe Ball of Minnesota penned four bills aimed at curbing labor. One banned closed shops; another, industry-wide bargaining; a third would amend the Wagner Act by permitting the dismissal of employees who remained on strike after an invitation to return to work, and a fourth would curb strikes. In reply, Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach read a 54-page statement condemning Ball's proposals. He defended both the check-off and the closed shop, declaring that "77 per cent of the nation's wage earners work under some form of union security."

Three days later, the American Federation of Labor invited the C.I.O. to unite in a new peace plan so that a strong labor front could combat "objectionable legislation." A.F. of L. President William Green proposed "organic unity and solidarity within the ranks of labor" in a letter to President Philip Murray of the C.I.O.

On February 1, President Truman announced that the building trades had signed an agreement for voluntary arbitration to avoid strikes. Nearly two million A.F. of L. construction trades unionists were covered by the agreement which set up a joint national conference committee to settle disputes submitted to it. On February 10, the N.L.R.B. ruled that workers who strike in violation of a no-strike pledge in their union contracts can be fired without the protection of the Wagner Act.

A week later, Green spoke before a Senate Labor Committee hearing and warned Congress not to tamper with labor, but both Republican and Democratic committee members replied that the public wanted action, and Congress deemed it necessary to take steps.

---

• Ad in the Mountain View, California, *Register-Leader*:

"Reward will be paid for information leading to the identification of the party or parties who hauled away the basement over which the Baptist Church formerly stood. The church was moved last week and when the workers returned for the basement it had disappeared."

(Rock of ages cleft for whom?)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# FORUM FEATURES

FORUM is pleased to present this month an article by **Elmer Plischke**, of the Department of Political Science at Depauw University. The article on Soviet-American relations was prepared at the invitation of the President of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences and was read at the General Session of the Academy in November, 1946. **Dr. Plischke** is the author of numerous articles. **"Trans-Polar Aviation and Jurisdiction Over Arctic Airspace"**, appeared in the American Political Science Review in December, 1943. **Dr. Plischke's** war experience included two years as a Naval Civil Affairs Officer in the European Theater of Operations where he served both in London and in Germany and at the Denazification Desk of the Political Division of our Military Government Headquarters.

**Ed Ritter**, Principal of the School of Organic Education in Fairhope, Alabama, writes: "Since moving South I've formed some new ideas as to what are the Northern and Southern liberals' responsibilties in connection with the South's racial phenomenon."

We are sure FORUM'S readers will find **"Look Homeward, Liberals,"** stimulating reading on one of the most controversial of all issues.

**Judge Nochem Winnet**, of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, presents an interesting case against free lance baby placement in **"The Baby Traffic."** **Colston Warne**, Amherst College Professor of Economics and author of "Why Strikes?" (February issue of FORUM), returns to present **"John L. Lewis,"** a continuation of the subject of the labor movement from the life of one of its most illustrious and colorful leaders.

Which side of the fence are you on? Open Shop? Closed Shop? Turn to this month's **Forum** for both points of view. **Nancy Mayo Waterman** holds that Congress should abolish the Closed Shop. **Sylvan Kling** says no. Where do you stand? Let us hear from you in OUR ROSTRUM.

This month FORUM continues its investigation of **"Pressure Groups in Action,"** with a study by Marjorie Foulkrod of one of the country's powerful dairy cooperatives, The Dairymen's League.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED